

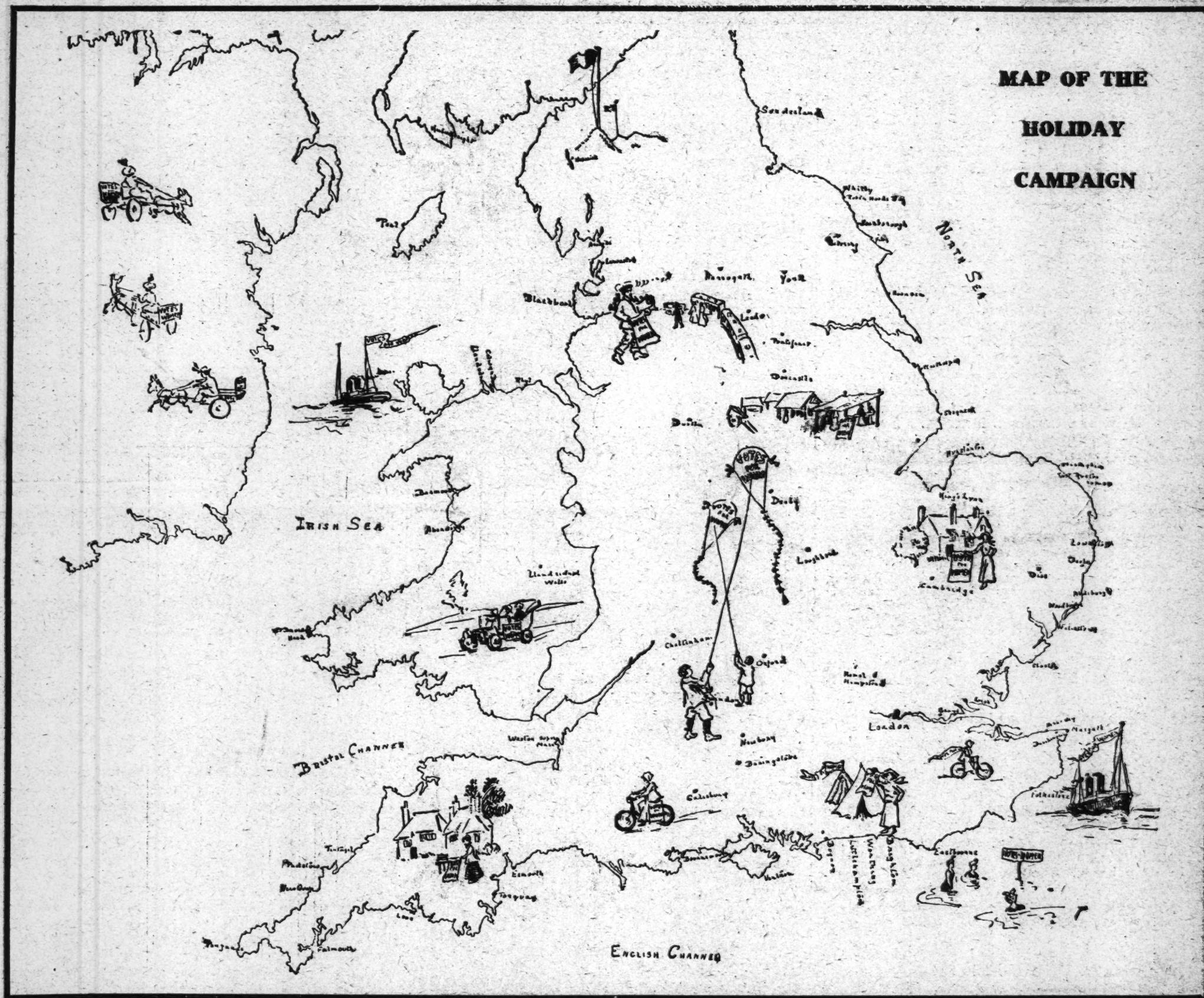


VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 233.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1912.

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The above Map is intended to give some idea of the extent of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Holiday Campaign, showing the places at which members of the W.S.P.U. are selling the paper, and some of the methods by which it is being brought to the notice of the public. (See page 765.)

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Mrs. Leigh, Miss Evans, and Mrs. Baines began the hunger strike more than a week ago, as our readers already know. Mrs. Baines began to fast on Tuesday evening, August 13, but, we believe, Mrs.

Leigh and Miss Evans, unknown to the authorities, began their hunger strike even earlier. They were supported by Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, Mrs. Palmer, Miss Jane Murphy, and Miss Margaret Murphy, of the Irish Women's Franchise League, who, though they had themselves received full political treatment, entered upon a sympathetic hunger strike in order to win the same treatment for their English fellow-prisoners. The Irish prisoners' sentences expired on Monday last, and they were released on that day without having been forcibly fed. Mrs. Baines, whose health since she entered prison has caused anxiety, was not fed by force, and was released last Monday, August 19, after a fast of five entire days. It is understood that the authorities were prepared to give her full political privileges, but these she could not accept unless they were given also to Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans. This has not yet been the case. We understand that certain privileges were offered both to Mrs. Leigh and to Miss Evans, but as they fell far short of political recognition, this compromise was rejected by the prisoners. A rumour has appeared in the Press to the effect that forcible

feeding has already begun in Mountjoy Prison. We have no official confirmation of this, but if forcible feeding has been resorted to it will be regarded in Ireland as a great and indelible national disgrace. The violence and brutality of the process is revolting to the Irish mind, and, moreover, Irish opinion strongly supports the claim for political treatment. This state of opinion is reflected even in the Press. The *Irish Times* says:

If cattle-driving and the like are "political offences," the outrages of "militant" Suffragists may logically be claimed as falling into the same category.

The *Freeman's Journal*, anything but friendly to Suffragists, whether militant or non-militant, nevertheless supports the demand for their recognition as political offenders. We would remind those who think that window-breaking is a political offence, and that the Dublin protest is not, that the question is one which depends upon the motive and not upon the gravity of the act committed.

Interviewing Cabinet Ministers

We congratulate the ladies who have been successful in securing interviews with Sir Edward Grey at

Embleton, with Mr. Lloyd George at Marienbad, with Mr. Winston Churchill on the high road near Sandwich, and with Mr. McKenna at Dornoch. Sir Edward Grey's statement that he has given notice of a Woman Suffrage Amendment is quite inexplicable, even when the circumstances of the interview are taken into account, because that statement is not true. His amendment would merely delete the word "male" from the "Reform" Bill, and that, as he ought to know and obviously does know, will not give women the vote. Far from being grateful to him for moving to delete the word "male," women are highly indignant with him for having ever allowed it to appear in the Bill. It was announced on Sir Edward Grey's behalf that he was prepared to move an amendment to give women the vote, but the amendment which actually stands in his name is, as we have said, no Woman Suffrage Amendment at all. To try by talking of Parliamentary procedure to mislead women into thinking any unofficial amendment a satisfactory substitute for a Government measure is futile as well as disingenuous. The reminder given to Sir Edward Grey that he began the militant Suffragist campaign and was the first to resort to violence, was an admirable stroke of argument.

Mr. Lansbury's Warning

The Election Agent for the Labour candidate at Crewe has written to thank the "Constitutional" Suffragists—

For the ready and excellent services you and your colleagues rendered us in this strenuous and historic fight the way in which you co-operated with us, strengthening our weak spots, acting as pioneers for our meetings, recruiting our outposts, and penetrating spheres where our forces were of no avail.

All this is very profitable to the Labour Party, but what is that Party giving in return? Mr. George Lansbury has uttered a much needed warning against the supposition that the Labour Party is as yet committed to anything more than a mere vote in Committee in favour of women's amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill. The Party is not even pledged to vote against the Third Reading of the measure if women are not included. Says Mr. Lansbury :—

People who object to militancy have taken a good deal of trouble to let the world know that they disapprove of such methods, but very little is being done to restore confidence amongst the militant women that those who object to militancy are really in earnest. They are not even sure of the Labour Party. Up to now there has been no really definite pledge given by the Labour Party in Parliament that in the last resort they will vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill unless it includes women. There have been many statements made on the platform, and many attempts made to prove that the Labour Party is pledged to do this, but I speak what I know when I say that the Parliamentary Labour Party—men who in this matter really count—have not up to the present decided the matter one way or the other.

Such being the Labour Party's attitude, we can see no justification for showing any partiality towards it.

Mr. Lloyd George as Labour Leader

Remembering that the enfranchisement of millions of underpaid and overdriven working women is at stake, we say emphatically that the Labour Party's duty is to do more than vote against the Third Reading of a Bill giving votes to men only. To do that only would be to stake everything upon one division in which the Government by a desperate effort might secure a majority. The Labour Party is in duty bound to make war upon the Government from now onwards, voting against them in one division after another until they are either driven from office or are compelled to introduce and carry a proposal for Votes for Women. Hitherto, the Labour Party has maintained its Parliamentary alliance with the Government in spite of their disgraceful treachery towards women. What is the bond which unites Labour and the Government? The answer seems to be "Lloyd George." For Mr. Philip Snowden, writing in the *Christian Commonwealth*, says :—

Should Mr. Lloyd George be driven from the Government because of his disagreement on the question of expenditure upon armaments, or because his colleagues refuse to follow him on a radical social reform programme, it will mean a far bigger secession from the party than followed Mr. Chamberlain in 1896. Keen observers of politics have long believed that the next change in political parties in this country will take the form of a Radical-Collectivist Coalition, and there is no man better fitted to carry out such a development than the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. . . . If such a thing as that happened the Labour Party would require to consider an entirely new situation. I deduce the conclusion that the Chancellor has a great democratic following in the country.

From these words of Mr. Snowden's we deduce that although the Labour Party may refuse to revolt against the Government for the sake of Votes for Women, they are prepared to do so when Mr. Lloyd George decides that the time has come for him to leave the Government.

A Political Gamble

Mr. Snowden is not the first Labour M.P. to allude to Mr. Lloyd George as the possible leader of the Labour Party. Mr. Keir Hardie, speaking,

of course, in joke, has done so. But Mr. Snowden seems to speak in all seriousness. That the Labour Party should put any trust whatever in Mr. Lloyd George would be a matter of amazement to us. Have the Labour men forgiven his policy of wrecking Woman Suffrage, a measure which they say has a foremost place in their programme? Have they forgotten that the real test of a politician's intentions where men even are concerned is his dealing with women who are the unenfranchised and therefore defenceless portion of the community? The *Labour Leader* says :—

Mr. Lloyd George is something of a political gambler, playing for power and popularity. He will play for high stakes if there is a chance of spoiling his opponents. When his schemes fail to realise expectations, he shrugs his shoulders and says he saw from the first what would happen, and thus, making a virtue of necessity, places another halo on his own head.

These words are very true, and it is to be deplored that for the sake of such a man Labour Members should remain in bondage to an Anti-Suffrage Government, and that to such a man they should be prepared to entrust the leadership of their Party.

The Irishwomen's Amendment

Mr. Brailsford, writing in the monthly paper issued by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, expresses the opinion which he believes to be shared by Mr. Snowden and the Conciliation Committee, that there ought to be no question of withdrawing under any circumstances the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill. The "Constitutional" Suffragists have not, it appears, abandoned the idea of striking a bargain with Mr. Redmond on the basis of withdrawing the women's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. In a communication sent to the Irish Press, a member of their Executive says :—

If, in return for the withdrawal of the Women's Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill, Mr. Redmond undertook that the Irish Party, as a whole, would support Women's Suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill, would such a proposal be worth considering? Some of us think that it would, and no less from the Irishwomen's than the Englishwomen's point of view. If we could count on the Irish vote for, and not against, a Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill, its passage would be assured.

Our comment upon this is that a promise from Mr. Redmond to support an amendment to the Reform Bill on condition that the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill is withdrawn, will be proof positive that he counts upon the defeat of the amendment or the abandonment of the "Reform" Bill. Indeed, the *Freeman's Journal* admits as much by saying :—

It is quite conceivable that the principle of Woman Suffrage may be approved, and, if so, the Prime Minister will find himself in the embarrassing position of having undertaken to pass a measure containing a proposal which he has described as "a political disaster of the gravest kind." The Government may think it better to sacrifice the Franchise Bill altogether rather than run the risk of such a catastrophe.

How Women in Victoria Got the Vote

A letter from Miss Evelyn Sharp in answer to an editorial criticism has opened an important correspondence on militancy in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*. One of the most interesting of the letters that have appeared is from Miss Winifred Holiday, who urges that all Suffragists, whether they approve of militancy or not, shall at least demand that Woman Suffrage be dealt with as a Government measure. Miss Holiday points out that the women of Victoria did not get the vote until the various Suffrage Societies abandoned private measures, which were year after year sacrificed to party loyalty, and united to compel the Anti-Suffragist Premier to make Woman Suffrage a Government measure. Says Miss Holiday :—

The strength of the Government's present position lies in their power to manipulate the whole Parliamentary and party machine against unofficial amendments behind the scenes (their anti-suffrage intrigue with the Nationalists illustrates this perfectly), while posing in public as "neutral," "permitting a free vote," &c. In all this, the acquiescence of the mass of non-militant societies is of the greatest assistance to them. When the women of Great Britain learn the same lesson as the women of Victoria, and adopt the same policy, they will win a similar victory. We entirely agree that the acceptance by "Constitutional" Suffragists of the Government's sham pledge is a serious obstacle to progress.

Public Men's Views on Militancy

Henceforward militant Suffragists, when defending their policy, can deal entirely in quotations. Mr. Winston Churchill's letters on the forthcoming Ulster rebellion are a veritable gold mine of argument. From these letters we have learnt that it is to "the laws ourselves have made" that our reverence is due, and we have learnt also that "Constitutional and Parliamentary machinery" is "the only substitute for anarchy and despotism." These letters tell us also that rebellion becomes under certain circumstances a duty, and that no Liberal could preach unqualified submission to authority. Lord Hugh Cecil has published a strong defence of militancy, in the course of which he quotes Mr. Churchill as having written :—

Constitutional authorities will measure their censures according to their political opinions; but the fact remains that when men are sufficiently in earnest they will back their words with more than votes.

When Lord Hugh Cecil applauds revolution he thinks of Ulster. Other revolutions he is not so much in favour of! Thus with a naïveté which is truly delicious he argues that approval of the resistance of Ulster does not involve approval of other illegal acts, and that it is perfectly easy to draw a distinction between Mrs. Pankhurst on the one hand, and the Unionist leaders on the other. The distinction, of course, is that he personally approves the Ulster rebellion, and is less completely persuaded that the Suffragist rebellion is desirable!

Militant Women in Persia

That Persia's attempt at self-regeneration was largely the work of women is shown by Mr. Morgan Schuster in his book, "The Strangling of Persia." He asserts that it was owing to the women that the revolutionary movement was anything more than a disorganized protest. He relates that when the Medjilis seemed likely to accept the Russian ultimatum, destructive of Persian independence—

Out from their walled courtyards and harems marched three hundred of that weak sex with the flush of undying determination in their cheeks. Many held pistols under their skirts or in the folds of their sleeves. Straight to the Medjilis they went, and, gathered there, demanded of the President that he admit them all. The President consented to receive a delegation of them. In his reception hall they confronted him, and, lest he and his colleagues should doubt their meaning, these cloistered Persian mothers, wives, and daughters exhibited threateningly their revolvers, tore aside their veils, and confessed their decision to kill their own husbands and sons, and leave behind their own dead bodies if the Deputies wavered in their duty to uphold the liberty and dignity of the Persian people and nation.

Perhaps if the women had had more power, Persia had been saved! We presume that the *Manchester Guardian* and other Liberal newspapers who condemn the militant women of their own land, will at least admire the militants of Persia. These newspapers accuse the Liberal Government of conspiring with Russia to destroy the independence of Persia. Why, then, do they expect British women to trust that same Government to do justice here?

Next week's paper will contain, besides all the news of the militant movement, the concluding article on "Women and the Law of Divorce," and a story by Mr. Pett Ridge, called "The Early Manner."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The weekly free meetings in London have been discontinued for the summer recess. They will be resumed on Monday afternoon, October 7, and Thursday evening, October 10.

Prisoners' Secretary

All inquiries with regard to prisoners should be addressed to Miss Winifred Mayo, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

In view of the demand made by Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, for political treatment, our readers would do well to read the recently published pamphlet, "Custodia Honesta—the Treatment of Political Prisoners," by Professor George Sigerson, M.D., which is on sale at the Woman's Press, price 1d.

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17

In order to avoid disappointment, members away on holidays, and those wishing to secure good seats at the Royal Albert Hall meeting to be held on Thursday, October 17, at 8 p.m., as a welcome to the Leaders and in honour of all Suffragists imprisoned in 1912, are advised to write at once for tickets. These may be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. Prices: Boxes, grand tier (to hold ten), 30s.; loggia (to hold eight), 21s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena (blocks B, C, D, and E), 1s. (only a few left); balcony, first six rows, 1s.; two back rows, 6d. (all numbered and reserved); upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.

We are astonished to hear as we go to press that the Sheriff's Officers have levied an execution on Holmwood, the Surrey residence of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, under an order for the costs of the prosecution in the Conspiracy Trial last May. Although the solicitor acting for Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Pethick Lawrence informed the Director of Public Prosecutions that he had not yet secured instructions from his clients, who were both travelling abroad, the Public Prosecutor refused to wait, and placed the matter in the hands of the solicitors to the Treasury, who threatened to proceed unless the costs were paid by a certain date. This not being done, they acted as above stated, and we understand that, failing to secure payment within five days, their intention is to proceed to sell in order to satisfy the order. Our comments upon this drastic procedure must be deferred to next week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. We are only able in the space at our command to make the observation that in thus attacking the private property of the individual, the Crown avoids tampering with the funds of an organisation, a course of action to which very probably the Trade Unions would have something to say.

WOMEN AND THE LAW OF DIVORCE

By H. Musk Beattie

From whatever point of view the Law relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes is regarded, the fact that the law has been made by men for men as distinct from women, is so obvious as to have become almost a commonplace.

The application of the legal doctrine as to domicil, the statutory enactments governing Divorce and kindred questions, and the judicial interpretation of statute and common law, all tend to make the position of women vastly inferior to that of men as regards their ability to approach the Divorce Court, the grounds on which a petition may be presented, and the efficacy of relief when granted. The theory of the English Law, as indicated by Acts of Parliament, and by the dicta of the judges, appears to be that men ought to be regarded as subject to a different and less stringent code of morals in matters where the relationship of the sexes is concerned than that applicable to women.

Domicil

The fundamental doctrine upon which the jurisdiction of the English Divorce Court in matters of dissolution of marriage and certain other, less important, matters, depends, is that of domicil, and in its application it involves women in a disadvantage. As regards suits for dissolution of marriage it seems to be fairly well established that the only true test of the jurisdiction of the Court is the domicil, i.e., the permanent home, of the parties at the time of the institution of the proceedings, independently of the residence and allegiance of the parties, their domicil at the time of the marriage, the place of the marriage, or the place where the matrimonial offence has been committed.

Thus the celebration of marriage determines the previous domicil of a woman, and confers on her the domicil of her husband. The result is that a wife whose husband is domiciled abroad cannot, as a rule, even though she is residing in England, petition for a Divorce in the English Courts, for her domicil (i.e., her husband's domicil) is foreign, and therefore the English Courts have no jurisdiction. And there is considerable doubt as to whether a wife can acquire a domicil different from that of her husband by separate residence for an extended period in another country; though the judgment of the Court in a recent case, though not deciding the point, appears to suggest, that in certain circumstances, a wife should be deemed to have a domicil in her own country sufficient to support a suit for dissolution.

If the husband change his domicil, the Law, it would appear, says his wife's domicil shall change with it. This rule tends very strongly to operate unfairly on the woman in some cases—for instance, if a husband deserts his wife, leaves her in England while he goes abroad and acquires a domicil by choice in a foreign land—though it has been suggested in one case at least, that in order to meet the injustice of compelling the wife to follow her husband from country to country on his acquiring a fresh domicil, the husband shall be precluded from pleading, for the purpose of a divorce suit, that he has changed his domicil.

As to Foreign Marriages

In cases where an English woman has married a foreigner, and he has committed a matrimonial offence, the question of the validity of the marriage, and not the domicil of the parties, is of prime importance. The validity of a marriage is to be determined by the law of the place where the marriage was solemnised, and not by the law of the husband's domicil. This fact works great hardship upon women who marry foreigners, for it happens in some instances that the husband, by reason of a slight non-compliance with the technical requirements of the law of his domicil relating to the celebration of marriage, is in a position, in his own land, to free himself from his English wife, and to contract another marriage. This notwithstanding, the woman is still regarded by the English law as a wife, so that she cannot marry again, and apparently cannot obtain a dissolution of the marriage, because the Court cannot make a decree binding upon a foreigner; whilst, by the foreign law, she may not be looked upon as a wife at all, so that she has no remedy in the courts of her husband's country. Thus, in one case, a ceremony of marriage in the English form was celebrated in England between a Frenchman and an Englishwoman. The marriage was annulled by the French Court on the ground that the consent of the husband's parent, as required by the French law, had not been obtained. It was held that the marriage, though invalid in France, was valid by English law, and that the Englishwoman could not, according to that law, validly contract a second marriage. The Court might, as suggested before, permit the wife in such a case to have a domicil apart from that of the man, who by English law is still her husband, thus assuming jurisdiction to dissolve the marriage, but there appears to be no definite decision to that effect, whilst there are others pointing to the opposite conclusion.

The Grounds for a Dissolution Decree

The unfairness of the Divorce Law to women is most strikingly manifest, however, when one comes to consider the grounds upon which is granted the most important decree which the Courts have power to pronounce, viz., that of a dissolution of the marriage. This decree is granted subject to the provisions of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, under which the grounds on which the petition must be founded vary according as it is presented by husband or wife. On the one hand, a petitioning husband has to prove the adultery of his wife, and nothing more; on the other hand, if the wife presents a petition she must be in a position to prove—

'Adultery, coupled with either incest, bigamy, rape, or one of certain specified unnatural offences,

or adultery coupled with such cruelty as would, before the Act of 1857, have entitled her to a Divorce, or with desertion without reasonable excuse for two years or upwards (or since the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1884, with desertion arising from non-compliance with a decree for restitution of conjugal rights).

Thus, under the Act, adultery by a woman is of itself sufficient to entitle her husband to either a divorce, which would enable him to marry again, or a judicial separation, which would not; whilst the same offence in a man will of itself merely enable his wife to obtain a judicial separation, and not a divorce, unless to the adultery be added the commission of one of the specified offences against decency, the infliction of the most calculated and systematic cruelty, or desertion for at least two years. Upon a wife who is petitioning for a divorce is imposed the necessity of proving the commission by her husband of two distinct offences, viz., adultery and one of the other offences enumerated. If she can prove nothing more than adultery, she must be content with a judicial separation, which will not permit her to remarry, and will force her to choose between enforced celibacy or a life of immorality with some man whom she would marry if the law allowed her so to do.

Where, as often happens, the additional offence sought to be proved is cruelty or desertion, the position of women is prejudiced, and their chances of success restricted by a variety of judicial decisions and definitions of what constitutes legal cruelty or desertion; and these facts are dealt with in the second part of this article.

(The second part of this article will appear next week.)

MISS OCTAVIA HILL

By One Who Worked With Her

During the last week every newspaper has had articles on Miss Octavia Hill. All have applauded her, and justly applauded; and all have especially selected for admiration her practical powers and control of detail. Certainly those powers were unusual. It is true that, as George Meredith says so emphatically, women are the practical sex. With their way of life, their housekeeping, their continual occupation with details, and the necessity of choice between beef and mutton, allowing no time for masculine vapourings and hesitations, it is only natural that this should be so. But in this respect Miss Octavia Hill almost surpassed the models of the practical sex. She would come into a committee silent, unobtrusive, scrupulously following the ordinary course of business, but with the whole matter perfectly clear in her head down to the last detail, and usually with her mind definitely made up beforehand, unless there was something on which she wanted more information. Nothing escaped her notice or was too trivial for her attention. I remember once, after a long and intricate discussion upon a business involving very large expenditure and the investigation of endless accounts, just as we thought the meeting was over at last, she turned to a member and said, in her rather precise and deliberate manner, "Mr. Smith, you owe me twopence."

There were no heroics or sentimentality about her, says the *Westminster Gazette*, and the *Times* speaks of "her enthusiasm as always directed by calm, inflexible reason." And, probably, it was her imperturbable purpose and her power of getting things done that first struck everyone who worked with her. Strong will, coolness, methods—all these powers she had, but they are powers belonging to many able women. As already suggested, I am inclined to call them the specially feminine qualities, and it is because women are not allowed to exercise them in public life that public life is in such a mess.

But, people say, she was not a Suffragist; in a letter to the *Times* she even appeared as an "Anti," lamenting that so many of her best friends and supporters had turned their energies into the Suffrage movement. That is all true enough. For the Votes for Women movement she was born too soon. She did not realise it till her line of work was clearly marked out, and her energies fully occupied. Looking at her, and remembering her courage, her good sense, and inspiring nobility, I have often thought: "If you had only been born in the sixties instead of the thirties, what a Suffragette leader you would have made!" That was partly the reason; the new wine of the movement came to her too late. But besides that, she was like a few other women of powerful but not very imaginative personality. Having won her own way, she could not understand why other women should want a power or a right that she had done very well without. Perhaps, if she prided herself upon anything at all, it was on her influence—her way of persuading other people of high position in the State to do as she wished and help in fulfilling her plans. She never seemed to realise that, though in her case this influence was excellent and sufficient, there are millions of good and high-minded women who are excluded from it by poverty and want of opportunity or intellect, whilst, in the case of foolish and self-seeking women, that sort of influence always crawls up the back stairs.

But we will not now insist upon any blemish that is to be found in a nature so exalted and in so beneficent a career. That such a woman should be counted as an "Anti" was largely the accident of date, but that such a woman should have been excluded from a voice in legislation is ludicrous. When "Antis" tell us, "All women might have votes if all were like her," we reply, "You might as well say that no men should have votes unless they are like the prophet Isaiah, and if you stand outside a polling-booth, you will see they are not."



In this column we propose, during the holiday season, when VOTES FOR WOMEN touches a new circle of readers, to answer some of the questions that present themselves to the minds of those not yet convinced of the urgency of Woman Suffrage.

Question 1.—Is it not true that women are paid lower wages than men because their work is not so good?

Answer.—Women do not ask for equal wages with men except for equal work. In many cases women are doing as good work as men and are being paid much less. To give only one instance, under the Manchester Education Committee, headmasters receive a salary of £135 to £175 and 4s. capitation fee; while headmistresses receive only £90 to £110 and 2s. capitation fee. In the Post Office Savings Bank Department, men ledger clerks receive £70 to £300, while women for exactly the same work receive £65 to £110. The same disparity will be found in nearly all trades and professions carried on by men and women.

Question 2.—How would the vote tend to alter this?

Answer.—At present the Government, as well as other employers, maintains this dual system of wages, and Mr. Lloyd George himself, at a meeting in the Albert Hall in December, 1908, said that when women had the vote, "and therefore the same right to call the Government to account as men have," it would be impossible for any Government to maintain this inequality. (This has been proved to be the case in Norway, where, as soon as women won the right to vote, the Government agreed to raise the salaries of their women postal clerks to the level of the men's.) The Government of a country is always considered the model employer, and although it might take some time for the principle of equal pay for equal work to be universally established, the pressure of the woman's vote would undoubtedly force the Government to set the example by paying its women employees in the Civil Service, such as Post Office clerks, school teachers, &c., and in its workshops, such as the Army Clothing tailoresses, &c., at the same rate for the same work as men.

Question 3.—Would not the same effect be produced if women workers were to form themselves into Trades Unions?

Answer.—Large numbers of women belong already to Trades Unions of their own, or to the men's Trades Unions, and although a certain amount can be done in this way to improve their economic position, Trades Unions are of little real value without the support of the Parliamentary Vote. Labour combinations did very little for the economic position of men before the working man got the vote in 1867; and the various Trades Union Acts that have been passed since then prove the close connection between labour combinations and the Parliamentary vote.

Question 4.—Do not men get higher wages on the assumption that they have families to support?

Answer.—If so, it is an assumption that is not in any way based on fact. Unmarried men are not paid less than married men because they have no families to support; nor can it be said that women workers spend all the money they earn on themselves. In fact, a very large number, if not the majority of women workers, support, or help to support, their relatives, as men do.

Question 5.—Is not the labour market overstocked with middle-class women who are not obliged to earn their own living?

Answer.—It is, of course, true that all women who work are not compelled to do so by necessity; but why should there be a separate economic standard for them? Men who have private means, as, for instance, many barristers, doctors, and so on, do not consider that this fact debars them from following a career. The right principle is that the work of the world should be done by those who are best qualified to do it, and this selection of the fittest will never be satisfactorily made until women, as well as men, have a free choice of employment.

THE SUFFRAGISTS IN MOUNTJOY PRISON, DUBLIN

Hunger Strike of English Suffragists — Sympathetic Strike of Irish Fellow-Prisoners — Release of Mrs. Baines after Five Days' Fasting

Persecution is the only name applicable to punishment inflicted on an individual in consequence of his opinions.—Shelley.

For their opinions, Mrs. Mary Leigh, Miss Gladys Evans, and Mrs. Jennie Baines were sentenced a fortnight ago to preposterous terms of imprisonment. For their opinions, they adopted the Hunger Strike when their demand for political recognition in prison was not acceded to. For their opinions, the first two of these women may be (if we are to believe a rumour in the Press) even now undergoing the indefensible process of feeding by force. Sophists may argue that it is for breaches of the law and not for their political opinions that these women have been forced to endure these things. But everyone who has the courage to face the truth knows perfectly well that it is for their opinions that they are suffering to-day, as every reformer throughout the ages has suffered.

The Facts of the Case

On their arrival at Mountjoy Prison on August 7, the three English Suffragists at once demanded the political treatment already accorded to the Irish Suffragists in the same prison. Mrs. Baines, sentenced to seven months' hard labour, was offered that recognition, involving permission to wear her own clothes, receive visits and letters, have her own books and food, with other rights of the political prisoner. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, with a sentence of five years' penal servitude, were made to wear prison dress and treated as ordinary felons, and were told that there was no precedent for the political treatment of those condemned to penal servitude. Mrs. Leigh disputed this, as we stated last week, and she and Miss Evans at once petitioned Lord Aberdeen, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the full rights of the political prisoner. Their petition not being granted, they started the Hunger Strike. It is believed that Mrs. Leigh began to fast two, if not three, days before the authorities became aware of it. It is certain that Miss Evans had joined her in the strike by Tuesday, August 13, and that Mrs. Baines, although enjoying the prison treatment of a political offender, began to fast on the same date, thus refusing to accept privileges that were not accorded to her fellow prisoners.

Release of Mrs. Baines

In her case the long fast proved almost fatal. All three prisoners were urged by the prison officials to stop striking. We understand that the authorities yielded so far as to offer them certain ameliorations of prison conditions, a compromise that was rejected on the ground that it did not imply full political rights. The women were striking for political recognition; the very spirit, as it were, of their whole demand for political freedom was implied in this struggle for political treatment in prison, and they refused to give in when a few creature comforts were offered them. So they went on using their terrible weapon, and Mrs. Baines, not robust enough to endure the strain of it, broke down in health after fasting for five whole days and nights. Even then she refused to give in, and was only induced to take food late on Sunday evening because they informed her she was to be released on Monday. So on Monday morning another militant Suffragist proved that force cannot conquer the unconquerable, and broke through her prison bars after serving twelve days of her sentence of seven months. She is now in a nursing home in Dublin, too ill to be moved, though making some progress, we are glad to say, towards recovery. As she was being released she was heard to tell the doctor that she "must make haste and get well, as there was so much work to be done." (A biographical sketch of Mrs. Baines will be found on page 763.)

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans continued their gallant struggle. According to a rumour in the Press, they are now being forcibly fed. We have no official confirmation of this up to the time of going to Press, and from the bottom of our hearts we hope it is not true that Ireland has created this infamous precedent in a prison system hitherto free from it. By recognising the political motives underlying the "crimes" of the two so-called felons the Irish prison authorities could easily avert this shameful recourse to violence and outrage upon two defenceless women, already desperately weakened by a fast of over a week's duration. It is our earnest hope that this is the case.

Championship of the Irish Suffragists

Like a ray of light in the gloom of last week's happenings in Dublin prison shines the magnificent comradeship of four of the Irish Suffragist prisoners in the same gaol. Outside the prison the Irish Women's Franchise League have done yeoman service in championing the cause of the three English Suffragists, and in bringing pressure to bear upon the Lord Lieutenant in order to procure political treatment for them. Inside prison, four of their members, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Mrs. Palmer, Miss Jane Murphy, and Miss Margaret Murphy,

although given the full status of political prisoners, refused to accept any privileges that were withheld from their English fellow-prisoners, and entered on the Hunger Strike on their behalf last Wednesday. They were not forcibly fed, and were released on the expiry of their sentences last Monday morning, after fasting four entire days and nights. They have won the admiration and gratitude of all militant Suffragists for their gallant championship of the English Suffragettes whom fortune of war landed in the same gaol with them a fortnight ago. We give below an account of the prison experiences of one of them, with her note on the Hunger Strike.

RELEASE OF IRISH SUFFRAGISTS

Last Monday morning four of the Irish Suffragists, who were sentenced in June for window-smashing in Dublin, were released on the expiration of their two months' sentence. They were Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Miss Jane Murphy, and Miss Margaret Murphy. Although they were in enjoyment of the full rights of political offenders in prison, they joined in the Hunger Strike out of sympathy with the three English Suffragists in the same prison, and when released had fasted four entire days. They were consequently in a very weak condition, especially Miss Jane Murphy, and all thought of a public reception or demonstration had to be abandoned; they were quietly met by friends at the prison gates, and are now receiving every care and attention. During their Hunger Strike, all the rights that had been granted them—books, visits, letters, &c.—were withdrawn as a "punishment for misconduct."

A PRISON RECORD.

The following interesting account of Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington's prison experience, written for the most part in prison, appears in the *Irish Independent*:

"On arrival at Mountjoy gates we had some document gabbled to us by some male officials—the purport, I understand, being that our bodies were handed over to the Governor for a certain stipulated period—one month—with an additional month should we refuse bail. We at once declared that we did refuse, but the officials suggested we might change our minds. We didn't—but then they had no Suffragettes before, so could hardly be expected to understand our point of view. I since learned that the entire conviction sheet (or whatever they call the document) was informal, and had to be cooked up by the Attorney-General and other legal luminaries a month after commitment! Convenient, these Attorney-Generals.

Clutching bag, bouquet, and cherry-stick that broke those Castle windows, which a policeman pressed into my hand, I followed a uniformed matron (dressed like a hospital nurse), and had the colour of eyes and hair, place of birth, religion, age, and various miscellaneous items of information entered duly in a ponderous volume, together with the name and address of some "friend." This puzzled me—it looked quite human, as if the officials meant to despatch daily bulletins to my anxious relatives; but I learned later that the friend was expected to fetch my body from the Governor in case death cut my sentence short of the time laid down by Mr. Swift.

We waited a week without exercise until the rightful machinery was set in motion, in order to allow us to speak to one another at exercise! This rule of silence is another of the demoralising and meaningless restrictions of prison. There are many others, some of a vindictive character (such as the odious "visiting box," through which ordinary prisoners see their friends in a sort of cage), others part of the elaborate espionage system—all relics of barbarism. There is no privacy in prison, the very decencies are broken down. You never quit the sight or surveillance of an official for a single moment. You are escorted to your bath, which has but a scanty half-door. You receive visits under supervision; you see your doctor or the chaplain with some official in the offing; your letters are opened; your newspapers initialled before they are passed on. If the officials are humane and kindly, it is in spite of the system. If they were true to the letter and spirit of prison regime they would become monsters.

As first-class misdemeanants we did not, of course, dip deep into the prison life—say at chapel one saw little of ordinary prisoners, who were carefully kept away from the "politicals" for fear of mutual contamination. One caught glimpses at prayers of many appealing faces under those neat prison caps, and many pretty ones, some sick, some sad to death, some very old and miserable, some half-crazed. I think the only bright inmates are the prison pigeons that bill and coo all day in the prison yards and nest defiantly outside the barred windows, and—the prison

babies. One caught glimpses of the little toddlers "exercising" with their mothers, having probably a better time and more undivided care than is ever their lot outside. And those "criminal" mothers dearly love their little ones, and nature, expelled with a fork, re-asserts herself—even in prison.

Twenty hours out of 24 the first-class prisoner enjoys unmitigated solitude. For the others the laundry, the kitchen, the work-room afford a limited variety. The enforced solitude of prison is harsh and spirit-subduing; it finds out the weak joints in one's armour, and brings into play all one's philosophy and resourcefulness. Stead said that every Judge should go through the ordeal of "serving time" before assuming office in order to help his imagination to realise the penalties he was inflicting. The salutary suggestion, if enforced, might deplete our jails, and would surely transform them. Yet I have many happy memories of Mountjoy—of pleasant companionship through hours of exercise and associated labour with my fellow-Suffragists, of kindnesses from friends who paid us daily pilgrimages, of studious hours far from the madding, mobbing crowd.

Hunger Strike

Towards the end of our sentence we were startled by the action of Judge Madden in imposing penal servitude on the English Suffragists. We Irish prisoners sent eight memorials from Mountjoy to Lord Aberdeen on the day after sentence was passed, and the English prisoners also forwarded theirs. Hearing that a week was the interval during which we might expect a reply (in our own case the reply had come sooner) we decided to wait a week, and did not protest until after the English Suffragists had entered upon the hunger strike. Official delays are dangerous, so on Thursday we decided to wait no longer. I have heard of cases where answers to memorials have been delayed until the day of the prisoner's discharge, when word arrived to the departing one that the "law must take its course." The hunger strike is a method of passive revolt that was initiated in Russian prisons where "politicals" adopt it when all else fails. In Russia they do not add the further refinement of cruelty—force feeding; it has been reserved to civilised England to adopt that method of "persuasion." On Thursday morning we refused exercise, and at noon we declined dinner. Immediately all privileges were withdrawn. There were no more visits, letters, newspapers, as result of our "misconduct." We were not unprepared for this, for one finds in prison that while no one apparently has any power to grant privileges, which only come in the most devious ways, almost every official has the right to curtail or withdraw them.

A Fast for 92 Hours

The long fast began, and except in the initial stages, for me who am robust it was not unbearable. The habit of fasting "grows by what it feeds on." At first one misses the break of meal-time in prison, and one does not, if one is wise, let one's thoughts dwell upon dainties. In novels one skips the allusions to food hurriedly. Then one ceases altogether to reflect upon the fact that if one has occupation the revolt of the body against starvation is not regarded, and the body learns to acquiesce. Water, which the hunger-striker indulges in liberally, is a mitigation. The prison meals, by regulation, reposed neglected in a corner, intended, no doubt, to tempt, but one can master the temptation to prison fare at all times. We were fasting 92 hours before release. Had the strike lasted longer more unpleasant symptoms would have, doubtless, intervened, and forcible feeding would have dragged in its element of agony. This was, happily, spared the Irish prisoners—it will not be spared the English—and but for loss of sleep and gradual weakness, languor, and numbness, the experience was not intolerable. At any rate, not when one was braced by the consciousness that no choice remained for those who could essay the desperate remedy but the "sympathetic strike."

HANNA SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON.

WHAT IS A POLITICAL PRISONER?

The following excellent definition of a political prisoner was given by Mr. Atherley Jones, M.P., in the House of Commons on the imprisoned Suffragists on June 28. He said: "For my part I take a very high standpoint in relation to this matter. These women are in the ordinary conventional use of the term, political offenders, and a political offence—whether it be so or not—is not tested by the means largely employed to secure a particular end, but is tested by the end which is in view. When people aim at a change in the Constitution, be it benevolent or otherwise, and pursue any unlawful means, whether they consist of assassination or some trivial and ludicrous offence of breaking windows, it is equally a political offence, and you cannot at all evade that issue by saying that they are not punished for a political offence, but for breaking windows. I repeat that whether

the offence is a political offence or not—and I speak as a lawyer, and with a sense of responsibility, when I say so—it is tested by the end in view and not by the means that are adopted. That is a position which I think anyone who has even an elementary knowledge of constitutional law will agree to."

THREE IRISH COMMENTS

Irish public opinion as to the treatment of political prisoners needs no memorial for its exposition. It is fixed and consistent, and has been acted upon independently of whether Irishmen agreed or disagreed with the political offenders. It approved the treatment of the Jameson Raiders, as it approved Lord Aberdeen's treatment of the Irish Women Suffragists. If Lord Aberdeen can ignore the terms of the memorial presented to him and give effect in the other cases also to the conviction of the Irish public on the question, he will have the same support. Nationalists have never asked for the benefit of one law for themselves and the pains of another for their opponents. If the Executive then, despite the provocation of the memorial, determines to continue its policy of giving political offenders the benefit of their motives, they will be acting in accordance with the preponderating convictions of Irishmen upon the question. To yield to Irish sentiment upon the point will have the additional attraction of defeating the sensation-mongers and averting the scenes attendant upon the hunger strike.—*Freeman's Journal*.

That exactly the same punishment should be meted out within one week in the law courts of Dublin to a procurer and a Suffragette explains, though it does not justify, the wild proceedings of some of the advocates of Woman Suffrage. Those who know something of how women are treated in England can understand Suffragette proceedings that the people in this country cannot understand. But if the punishment of procuring children for immoral purposes in Dublin is to be the farcical sentence of seven months' imprisonment and absolute silence in the Press, whilst the Suffragette who damages property is given seven months' hard labour and held up to public reprobation, the same rottenness will creep into our social life which has stirred up a large section of the women of England to a violent and hysterical revolt.—*Sinn Fein*.

The Celbridge Guardians, having discussed the demolition of the Peamount Sanatorium, passed a resolution calling for the release of the men imprisoned for that offence, on the ground that they were incited by inflammatory resolutions of local magistrates condemning the Sanatorium. The plea seems a valid one; but what about action taken under incitement by Ministers of the Crown? How can the Government keep in prison those who act on suggestions deliberately thrown out by its own members? If the demolishers of Peamount are released, then those women who acted on Mr. Hobhouse's hint re Nottingham Castle cannot be logically kept in prison. Another case which we are watching with interest is that in which four men are charged with burning down a house in Henrietta Street, Dublin. They have been returned for trial, and admitted to bail in £10 each. It will be remembered that the four militants who broke a few pounds' worth of glass were required to find £25 bail; while the Englishwomen charged with trying to set fire to the Theatre Royal were refused bail.—*Irish Citizen*.

POSTING THE TRUTH

It is important that public attention should be ceaselessly drawn to the treatment dealt out by a Liberal Government to women who are seeking their rights. A most effective way of doing this is to display posters, and one is now on sale, printed in the colours, which is headed, "Penal Servitude or Votes?" and explains that the Liberal Government, while promising votes to every boy of twenty-one, is trying to keep women quiet with false promises.

The striking fact is added that 1,500 women have been imprisoned for agitating for votes, and two have been sent to five years' penal servitude.

This poster, double-crown size (30 by 20 inches), can be had for 1d. post free; in a larger size (four double crown), 3d. each, post free. Members are urged to buy these and display them outside their houses, or pay for their appearance on the hoardings.

IN PRISON FOR RECENT MILITANT ACTION

DUBLIN.
Evans, Miss G. (Five Years' Penal Servitude)
Hasler, Miss M. (Five Months)
Houston, Miss. (Five Months)
Leist, Mrs. (Five Years' Penal Servitude)
Lloyd, Miss. (Five Months)
Webb, Miss H. (Five Months)
HOLLOWAY.
Neill, Miss Marie. (Four Months)
WANDSWORTH.
Gray, Mr. Charles. (Two Months 1d.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

August 6 to August 17

	Total
Already acknow.	£132,716 9 4
Lodged	£132,716 9 4
A Cowardly Sympathiser	1 1 0
Dr. E. Honor Bone	10 0 0
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Miss Edith Downing	2 2 0
Miss Lillian Clements	0 1 0
Mrs. E. Bowler	3 0 0
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Miss Charlotte Briggs	0 5 0
Anon.	500 0 0
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Miss Dorothy Hilton	1 0 0
Miss Floriel Florene	2 0 0
Anon. Sheffield (sale of antique ring)	0 10 6
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Miss E. Amy Jameson	0 2 0
Mrs. O. Monck-Mason	4 4 0
Miss E. Schmuck	0 10 0
Miss Bertha Turner	0 10 6
Miss Ada Sinclair	2 0 0
Miss Helen S. Lewis	1 0 0
L. 67.	0 5 0
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Miss Ferguson	0 1 6
Miss Hawkers	0 2 0
Mrs. Ellis	0 1 0
Miss Ellis	0 1 0
Mrs. Robinson	0 0 6
Miss Scottson	0 1 0
Miss Tompkins	0 1 0
"A Catholic Suffragette"	0 5 0
Wimbledon W.S.P.U.	2 10 0
Per Miss G. Allen—	0 4 6
Miss Biggin	0 4 6
Per Miss Turner, for Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's Meeting	2 13 6
H. S. B.	0 6 0
Miss Potter	0 9 0
Miss Lovibond	0 1 0
Per Miss L. Burns—	0 5 0
Miss R. A. Anderson	1 0 0
Miss Barbara Dempster	1 0 0
Miss Catherine Dempster	1 0 0
Miss Lucy Burns, B.A.	2 10 0
R. S. Alexander, Esq.	0 2 0
Profit on Library... Miss Christie (for library)	0 10 0
Total	£133,379 18 4

THE WORK OF THE WORLD GOES ON

Mr. Bernard Shaw, not long ago, shot one of his brilliant half-truths at an audience to the effect that "in the work of attempting to minimise the amount of falsity in statements placed before the public you must not expect the support of the public, for you will not get it." This may be true of the public when the public has not been sufficiently worried; but constant repetition of the same statement, especially when accompanied by deeds as illustrations, does cause a certain amount of truth to filter through after a time, even to the consciousness of the British public. For instance, the militant events of this year have at last caused a considerable proportion of the public to admit by analogy that all through history liberty has been won by violent methods.

Where the support of the public sometimes breaks down is in its inability to see the connection between past and present struggles for liberty. "Can you compare the women's demand for the Vote with great historic movements like the Civil Wars or the French Revolution?" people ask incredulously.

Certainly, we can compare the militant Suffrage movement with these or any other struggles for freedom. In some respects it is even greater than these earlier movements, for they in most cases were limited to one country, whereas the woman's fight is going on all over the world. The English militant movement of the last six years has lit a torch that now blazes wherever civilised women, and even those who, like the women of China or Persia, are not yet in the front rank of civilised peoples, are to be found. As regards magnitude of aim and extent of area, the woman's movement puts all other movements of the past into the shade. But, say our critics, the revolutionary part of the movement is confined to one country and by no means absorbs the whole attention or possesses the whole sympathy of the people even in that country. That is so. That has been so in the case of every revolution since the world began.

The work of the world must always go on whether people have won their liberty and can honourably live in peace, or whether they have yet to strike off their fetters. This is necessarily a characteristic of all struggles for liberty. Nor is it only the work of the world that goes on while people are giving their lives for a cause; the pleasure of it goes on too. People are born, people marry, people die and are buried, people dance and make merry, though in the street outside revolution rages and the destiny of a nation hangs in the balance. One of the greatest of human fallacies is the supposition that while a revolution is in progress Nature cries *Pause!* It is not until the revolution is over and done with that people begin to refer to it as something that occupied the whole attention of the country while it was going on.

"It is a mistake to suppose," wrote Lord Morley of the beginnings of the Civil War, in his *Life of Cromwell*, "that the patriots and their comrades had now at their back a nation at red heat." Carlyle had the same idea in his mind when writing his unforgettable description of July 14, 1789, the evening of the Fall of the Bastille:

O evening sun of July, how at this hour thy beams fall aslant on reapers and peaceful woody fields; on old women spinning in cottages; on ships far out in the silent main; on Balls at the Orangerie of Versailles, where high-rouged Dames of the Palace are even now dancing with double-jacketed Hussar officers; and also on this roaring Hell-porch of a Hôtel-de-Ville! Babel Tower, with the confusion of tongues, were not Bedlam added with the conflagration of thoughts, was no type of it. Denunciation, vengeance, blaze of triumph on a dark ground, of terror; all outward, all inward things fallen into one general wreck of madness, &c., &c.

If people could dance, a few miles off, while aristocrats were being strung up on the lamp-posts of Paris, is it to be wondered at that the life of the world to-day goes on, though women suffer in prison, though women die for a cause greater than any that animated the French revolutionists, the cause of freedom for half the human race?

There are some who belittle the militant Suffrage movement because it does not appear to them to have assumed the proportions of the French Revolution. That is only because the French Revolution happened before they were born, while the militant movement is happening all round them to-day. If these people had lived in 1789 instead of in 1912, they too would have been dancing at Versailles and sneering at a street riot a few miles off that was making history. There are others who refuse to compare the demand for Votes for Women with any demand for political freedom that produced civil wars in the past, because, they say, there is not an overwhelming demand for it in the country. They forget the sleepy countryside that formed the background to the struggle between Cavalier and Roundhead, two and a half centuries ago, they forget the mass of indifferent peasantry, of self-seeking shopkeepers, who cared only to preserve their own little set of interests unhurt. They forget "the old women spinning in cottages" while lovers of liberty razed the fortress of tyranny to the ground. They forget the Anti-Reform petition sent up to Parliament in 1831 from Bristol, the town where the greatest evidence was shown (according to Cabinet Ministers) of a desire for Reform. They forget, indeed, that human nature is much the same to-day as it was in 1640, or in 1789, and that it has learnt no greater sense of proportion with regard to contemporary events. "You may repeal the Declaration of Independence," said Abraham Lincoln, "you may repeal the whole of past history—but you cannot repeal human nature!"

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1912

THE GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

The spirit of rebellion spreads, as Mr. Lloyd George has elegantly expressed it, "like foot and mouth disease." It has spread from the militant Suffragists of the W.S.P.U. to the Leaders of His Majesty's Opposition. Militant Suffragists have made rebellion respectable, if not positively fashionable; they have wiped out the stigma that formerly attached to every breach of the law and to the consequent arrest and imprisonment. In a word, they have trodden a path along which less enterprising men politicians are following. It is quite obviously the example of the W.S.P.U. that has emboldened the responsible leaders of the Unionist Party, Mr. Bonar Law and his colleagues, to adopt and proclaim a policy of violent resistance to the law. In the old days, lawlessness was left to masses of unknown people, and political leaders were apt to content themselves with making excuses for that lawlessness after it had taken place. But the militant women have made rebellion both socially possible and popularly understood. Moreover, the Leaders of the W.S.P.U. have set the example of sharing the moral responsibility and the legal risks and penalties incurred by the rank and file. Consequently, the leaders of men's political parties are now obliged to live up to that standard too. Thus we find the leaders of the Unionist Party coming forward as the promoters and leaders of a violent and lawless agitation.

Mr. Bonar Law's rebellion is not yet an accomplished fact, and can never have that complete justification which adds moral force to the Suffragist rebellion. Nevertheless, it has already put the Government into a grave predicament, as may clearly be seen from Mr. Winston Churchill's letters on the subject. Mr. Churchill threatens Mr. Bonar Law with "the bleak outlook of a felon's cell or place of execution." He charges him with organising civil war, with wrecking our ancient constitution, with bringing on red ruin and the breaking up of laws, with causing to "the strength and stability of our island life a sensible deterioration." Yet, these threats and recriminations do but betray the Government's embarrassment. The cause of that embarrassment is not so much the prospect of bloodshed in Ulster nor the possible necessity of employing the troops to overpower armed rebels. This Government have before now sent out troops to suppress disorder. No, the true cause of the Government's embarrassment is that they foresee the necessity of laying hands upon the leaders of the Opposition and putting them in gaol. They foresee the necessity of prosecuting Mr. Bonar Law and his friends for conspiracy and incitement to violence as they have already prosecuted the Leaders of the W.S.P.U., and of sending these statesmen to penal servitude, as they have already sent Miss Gladys Evans and Mrs. Leigh.

Yet here again it is not the horror of imprisoning another human being that weighs upon their spirit. It is the dread of bringing into party politics—that game of see-saw—anything so grim and real. Members of the Government entertain a strong objection to making felons of men whose position corresponds so closely to their own. To get to the heart of the matter, the Government do not want to send Mr. Bonar Law to penal servitude, because by so doing they will make a bed upon which they, when they are in Opposition, may have to lie themselves.

Supposing that the present Home Rule Bill is not carried; supposing that the Parliament Act should prove, as we suspect it may, a serious obstacle rather than an aid to legislative change; supposing that upon the failure of the present Home Rule measure the Nationalists should declare that a constitutional and peaceful settlement of the Irish question is impossible! What will happen then? The Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill have both prophesied an armed rebellion on the part of the Nationalist majority in Ireland, a rebellion with which Mr. Bonar Law will, as Prime Minister, have to deal. In that event, Mr. Asquith might retire from public life, but the younger leaders of the Liberal Party would not so easily escape from their dilemma, and they know it. Now that women have set a new and higher standard of public responsibility, sitting on the fence is not a policy as practicable as it used to be, and Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill may find themselves implicated in violence and lawlessness, and compelled in their turn to occupy a felon's cell.

Here is a new issue to be faced by the politicians. The present Government cannot shirk that issue much longer. They must take warning that no repressive measure against militant Suffragists can or will be tolerated which they are not prepared to take against men politicians whose offences are the same or more serious. The working men, too, are demanding that offences arising from industrial unrest shall not be punished while offences connected with discontent in Ulster shall go unpunished. The Liberal Press are calling for the punishment of incitement to violence in Ulster. The *Daily Chronicle* warns the Government that a prosecution will have to be instituted, and says:—

What the public feels—as the culprits themselves no doubt feel—is the improbability of men with the social and political standing of Mr. Law and Sir Edward Carson being brought to book, tried, convicted, and punished like ordinary men. Against that feeling the democracy of the country is bound more and more to set itself, in its effort to win for the future a larger and more even-handed justice than the partial justice of the past.

The *Manchester Guardian* says that Mr. Bonar Law's policy is precisely on the same footing as the action taken by the two Suffragists sentenced to five years' penal servitude. Says the *Manchester Guardian*:—

Mr. Law has fomented a conspiracy in Ulster to procure, in a certain event, the definite crimes of riot and treason. Sir Edward Carson and the other extreme men in Ulster have got up a movement for organising or threatening the crimes—crimes in the strict legal sense—of public disorder and of bearing arms against the King. They are crimes in the same sense in which it was a crime to try to burn the Dublin Theatre Royal. . . . The agitation is an attempt to procure a political object by threats of criminal practices. But that does not make it the less criminal. To attempt to obtain one's ends by threats of murder, arson, or treason is definitely criminal, as treason, arson, and murder are.

This reasoning is perfectly sound. If militant Suffragists are criminals, so are the Unionist leaders. If Mary Leigh is a criminal, so is Mr. Bonar Law.

Unless the militant Suffragists are for the future to be relieved of all punishment for their militant acts, and unless those now in prison are to be set free, then the Unionist leaders must go to prison too. If there is to be impunity for any rebels, there must be impunity for all rebels. If there is to be coercion for any, there must be coercion for all.

Of course, the Government are in a difficulty of a most unprecedented kind, but it is of their own making. Why, and again why, did they not give women the vote as soon as militancy began? That would have nipped rebellion in the bud! They refused to do it, they thought it safe to refuse the demand for Votes for Women. They had not the imagination, the foresight, the statesmanship, they had not the common sense to see that that little cloud of militancy would overspread the whole sky. They did not realise that the fever of revolt would grow stronger in women themselves, and would spread from them to others. The spirit of revolution had died out these many years in men. It has reappeared in women, and from them men are learning again to defy authority and to break the law for the sake of public objects dear to them. Even those men who feel no inward stirring of revolt are ready to pretend they do!

Whom the Gods wish to destroy, they do most certainly make mad! The Government refused to carry a Votes for Women measure when they took office in 1908, and now they are face to face with the result of that stupendous folly.

AN ALBANIAN MILITANT

By H. W. Nevinson

"Never!" she said, and if a Turkish shell had burst among that group of mountaineers, it would have caused less surprise and indignation.

She had been engaged to be married before she was born. "If it's a girl," her father had said to a friend in the same valley, "you shall have her for £10 down, and another £10 on the wedding. Your boy's six, and that will make a good match."

"We'll say £5 at birth, and £5 at marriage," said his friend, and finally the bargain had been struck for £8 on each occasion.

And now she was sixteen, and her parents had brought her down the long valley with a little procession of brothers and sisters and other villagers to fulfil the remainder of the contract. Dressed in a white shirt, a little white jacket, and enormous white skirt, all of which she and her mother had been for years stiffening with intricate embroidery of black braid, she had been set on a pony behind her father, and had ridden down to the bridegroom's house. There they were solemnly received by all the bridegroom's relations in half-circle. Her father and brothers hung their rifles on little stone projections left on the house wall, to show they had no intention of shooting anyone inside, and both families rubbed each other's cheeks with mutual satisfaction.

"She's a strong girl—well worth the money," said the bridegroom's relations, with approval; "and we want more hands."

"Now I can buy those two oxen," said her father, and all were pleased. In the midst, the bride stood modestly silent.

All got into line, ready to enter the house, the bridegroom came forward to carry her over the threshold, as the custom is. And then she said, "Never!"

For a moment all were struck dumb with the shock. Then cries of astonishment and rage arose. Both families set upon her with a storm of imprecations. Her parents seized her round the waist and tried to drag her forward. Her brothers did their best to push. The bridegroom caught her hands and pulled. But she fought and struggled like a wild cat, and still repeated "Never!"

"She's strong—certainly, she's strong," said the bridegroom's relations, still with approval, and their efforts and indignation were redoubled.

Finally, she flung herself on the ground among them all, and cried, "I take the vow. Be witness."

Then all stood back, and looked at each other in perplexity. For by an old Albanian law a girl who refuses the man whose father has duly purchased her, may dissolve the bargain by taking a vow never to marry at all. After which vow, she dresses like a man, does man's work, and is counted as a man by a courtesy never broken.

The trouble is that both families lose money, and if her father sells her again, there is "blood" between her own family and her former bridegroom's. If she marries "on her own," her husband's family is involved in "blood" as well, and forty or fifty corpses may be buried on her account before her perversity is forgiven. That is a serious consideration.

So the families sorted themselves out, and stood looking at each other in perplexity and wrath.

"You give me back the £8 I paid you before she was born, and we'll cry quits," said the bridegroom's father.

"I haven't got the £8," her father answered; "and I want my two oxen. I'll tame her, and bring her back in three days."

So he tied her to the pony's tail, and returned home with his family. That night he allowed her nothing to eat, and he beat her with his silver-studded belt.

"I want my two oxen," he said as he retired to his bracken bed in a corner of the family room.

But before morning, when all were asleep, she undid the heavy bar across the door, and stole out into the darkness. Soon after daybreak, it was found she was gone, and all the villagers in the widely scattered houses were summoned by loud yells to the pursuit. All day they hunted her up and down the mountains, like a wild beast, sometimes catching sight of her in the distance as she fled and hid again. At last they formed themselves into a long line and swept the valley from the mouth upward to the inaccessible cliffs at the head. There they ran her down, in a hole among the rocks at the foot of a precipice.

She was dragged home, beaten again, and bound with thongs to a heavy tree-trunk out in the woodshed, which was then barred outside. Next morning the tree-trunk was safe in its place, but there was a hole in the tiled roof, and the thongs showed signs of having been bitten through. All day long the villagers searched again, but all they found was a trace of footprints leading up those inaccessible cliffs.

Last September, just after the revolt of the tribes in north-west Albania had been stamped out as usual

with blood and fire by the Turks, I crossed a jagged mountain range, and came down upon the blackened and devastated ruins of scattered farms and houses that had once been a village. My guide and I lighted a fire close to the unroofed church, and presently silent forms began creeping up through the twilight to look at us. Recognising my guide, they sat round in a circle to watch us cook, as their manner is. All were fully armed with rifles, revolvers, and knives, but the fine dress of white frieze striped with black, that makes Albanians look like a kind of hornet, was now all filthy rags and tatters, hardly covering them after the long campaign. One, I noticed, looked a little cleaner than the rest, and whether it was from the glance of the eye, or the smile on taking cigarettes, or just the smooth weather-beaten face, I knew almost at once that it was a woman. I asked my guide in German, and he said, "Oh, yes; that's what we call an Albanian maid. She came over the mountain pretty near dead a few years ago, and these people kept her because her great aunt had married here. And she took the vow, so now she's as good as a man."

There she sat, talking and laughing, wearing a man's close-fitting little white cap on her head, and dressed in the open jacket and narrow striped breeches, tapering to the ankle.

"What does she shoot," I asked, "with that rifle she cherishes across her knees?"

"Only Turks," he replied.

AN ENGLISH MILITANT

MRS. JENNIE BAINES

A few days ago Mrs. Baines disappeared behind prison doors for a term of seven months. Already she is free again! The Government would not give



to her fellow-soldiers the treatment due to prisoners of war. Therefore Mrs. Baines resorted to the hunger strike, and because it was feared that to feed her by force would kill her, she could no longer be kept in prison. Great is the rejoicing at her release.

Mrs. Jennie Baines is missionary and soldier in one. Her first public work was done under the banner of the Salvation Army. In the course of her work for the Army she learnt what her life as a working woman had not already taught her, of the suffering and the need of the poor. As time went on, she came to see that great social evils must be attacked at the root, and that it is by means of political power alone that society can be reorganised according to a saner and fairer plan. Therefore she entered upon active work for the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Baines is one of the early members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Its independence of political parties appealed to her because she has learnt by experience that for women to depend for aid upon parties managed by men is futile. The militant policy at once secured her approval, because she ranks deeds higher than words, and knows too that great constitutional changes are not to be gained without fighting.

A woman whose soul is filled with passionate desire to rescue the oppressed, who hates compromise, who is a stranger to fear—such a woman is Mrs. Baines. The front fighting line is the place that she loves, and therefore it was no surprise to her friends to hear that she was concerned in the Dublin protest. Nor can it have been a surprise to the Government: for Mrs. Baines has organised and taken part in many protests in the past.

Mrs. Baines has no illusions on the subject of politicians and their promises. She believes that to trust in them is folly. If her direct and piercing vision were more common than it is, militancy would

be more widespread and the Suffrage Movement would be all the stronger. Though she believes that votes will be won by action, not by talk, Mrs. Baines is a most powerful speaker, with a special gift of communicating her enthusiasm and emotion to her audience. At by-election meetings in the open-air she yields a very great influence.

In her work for the movement Mrs. Baines has the great strength and solace of her husband's help and approval. His enthusiasm for the cause of Votes for Women is hardly second to her own. These two, when the moment of triumph comes, will have the joy of knowing that their share in it is a great one.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF WOMEN*

It is often said that the civilisation of a country can be judged by the legal position of its women. The International Council of Women has just issued a most interesting and instructive handbook, giving the position of women in all civilised countries with regard to the law. This handbook, written in English, French, and German, presents us with a comprehensive view of woman's position as it is to-day, invaluable to those who, realising the solidarity of womanhood, feel that the advancement or retrogression of any section of the whole corporate body means their own advancement or retrogression.

It is especially interesting to notice how far an advance towards equal justice between men and women has been made in spirit by the Norwegian laws, particularly those relating to parentage and divorce. Suggestive, too, is the fact that in this, the first independent European country to grant Woman Suffrage, the laws to prevent legalised vice are very strong, and the establishment of brothels in any shape or form is absolutely forbidden. The book is well written by experts and contains a mine of information, which will be particularly useful to speakers and debaters.

Turning from the study of the Norwegian Law, one finds it a curious change to read Lord Charnwood's pamphlet on "Legislation for the Protection of Women."† The author is one of those who finds in our present legislation all that can be desired, and sees in our criminal law "a very effective instrument"! When we learn, coupled with this statement, the fact that the writer is against raising the age of consent, we can pretty well judge the spirit in which he surveys the whole question. There is one point we cannot refrain from referring to more particularly. "To say that unchastity in a man or in a woman should be regarded in quite the same way is simply untrue," says the writer, "since their temptations are wholly unlike. . . . There must always be a fallacy in saying that the requirement of chastity is just the same for a man and for a woman." What people who hold this point of view seem to me to ignore is that an unchaste manhood and a chaste womanhood is an impossibility. It means, as the man demands it, chastity in his wife, mother, sisters, and daughters, and yet licence for himself. In order that a number of women may lead a virtuous life there must be that terrible price paid, the annual holocaust offered up, as Lecky has it—"A perpetual sacrifice blasted for the sins of the people." From this confusion of ideas arises the spirit in which popular opinion and the laws as at present existent are moulded.

K. D. S.

THE CHRISTMAS PRESENTS' FAIR

A correspondent makes an excellent suggestion in a letter, in which she announces her intention, during the summer recess, of using the time she usually spends in attending the two London weekly meetings of the W.S.P.U. in making articles for sale at the Christmas Presents' Fair. Our readers will remember our preliminary announcement, a few weeks ago, of the proposed house warming to be given in the new premises of the Women's Social and Political Union, to which a move will be made in the course of the autumn. The house-warming will take the form of a Fair for the Sale of Christmas Presents, and will be held shortly before Christmas. The ill winds of this rainy August will have blown good indeed to the W.S.P.U. if they have kept members indoors for part of their holiday and led them to occupy themselves in making Christmas presents for their friends to buy on this forthcoming and very interesting occasion. Our correspondent's suggestion might be adopted also by Suffragettes who are not Londoners; for these weekly meetings of the W.S.P.U. which are held all over the country as well as in London, are universally suspended during August and September. So there must be many regular attendants at such At Homes who now have that couple of hours on their hands, and could profitably occupy the time in the way proposed. But let us urge once more that the articles made be both useful and beautiful—things, in fact, that people want to give or to receive as presents, and not gimmerack ornaments or embroidered superfluities that have "fancy bazaar" stamped all over them. In this, as in other branches of work, the W.S.P.U. means to set a high standard.

MR. AND MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

All readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be interested to hear that Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence have gone to Canada to pay a visit to Mrs. Lawrence's brother. They hope to be back in London and ready for work by the beginning of October, in plenty of time to be present at the welcome that will be given to them and to Mrs. Pankhurst at the Albert Hall on October 17. It is good news that the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN have sufficiently recovered from their prison experiences to undertake the voyage to Canada, and everyone will join us in our warm wishes for their speedy return.

* "Woman's Position in the Laws of the Nations." International Council of Women. (Published by G. Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei und Verlag, Karlsruhe im Baden. Price 2.40 marks.)

† "Legislation for the Protection of Women." (By Lord Charnwood. King and Son. Price 2d.)

THE CABINET MINISTER'S HOLIDAY

MR. MCKENNA MEETS THE INEVITABLE AT DORNOCHE

We learn from the *Standard* that Mr. McKenna was intercepted by two women Suffragettes last week as he was about to start a round on the Dornoch golf links. The women asked for the release of the imprisoned Suffragists. They followed the Home Secretary, who protested that he had no power in the matter, into the club-house.

A correspondent writes:

Tuesday, August 13.

Even at Dornoch the Home Secretary cannot escape from the trouble he has made for himself. As he was starting out golfing on Tuesday, just in front of the club-house, two ladies sprang forward, and one spoke to him. At her first words Mr. McKenna fell back disconcerted.

"I call upon you, Mr. McKenna," she said, "to secure the release of the Suffrage prisoners, to begin to treat the Suffrage question in a straightforward manner, and so put an end to this horrible struggle."

He seemed very agitated, and protested that he had no power to do so, and, moving quickly towards the club-house, said: "Don't follow me into the club!" But his appeal was unheeded. The ladies both walked in with him, saying, "How can you be holiday-making while women are suffering in prison for their principles?"

Of all the numerous golfers who were spectators of the scene no one interfered on Mr. McKenna's behalf, except the secretary, who said, "I quite understand, but don't make a scene in the club." The ladies retorted, "Would you not plead for the life of your friends in a club-house, or even in a church, if necessary?"

The same account continues:

The Golf Club House here at Dornoch was found this morning highly decorated—not to say painted purple, white, and green. Among the many striking mottoes hung from the verandah were these:

TO MR. MCKENNA.

"Put women in the Reform Bill and you'll play a better game."

"Keep your eye on the ball, and we'll keep ours on you."

"Fiat justitia! A clear conscience gives a clean drive off."

Other maxims were flown from the flagstaffs on the greens, and we are told that Mr. McKenna received others on cards by post.

Another correspondent writes:

Wednesday, August 14.

This morning the Home Secretary had another encounter with the Suffragettes. As he and another gentleman left his house a lady ran up to him and said, with a strong Irish brogue: "Musha, Mr. McKenna, why don't you put women in the Home Rule Bill?"

Immediately she was thrust back, the second gentleman using his large umbrella as a barrier to keep her off. During the slight tussle another lady in the background snapshoted the scene. The gentlemen then walked off, evidently somewhat anxious, for they turned round every few yards to keep an eye on the women, who followed them. Their pace increased as they neared the club-house, but the women kept them well in view.

Mr. McKenna's game was below par this morning; on this green or that teeing ground he would come across the Suffragettes, and he hardly knew what to expect from them. One of them told him that she had been knocked about in prison by his orders. He looked very embarrassed. At one tee at which the Suffragettes and their cameras were present, just as Mr. McKenna prepared to drive, one of the women sprang on the fence and said to the other, "Now, let's snapshot him!" Mr. McKenna "fooled" badly, and his friend exclaimed, "They've succeeded!"

Thursday, August 15.

Can Mr. McKenna be converted at last? On Thursday morning the inhabitants of Dornoch woke to find on Mr. McKenna's front gate the legend, "Votes for Women," in large black letters, and again on his front door in white. In order to show no partiality for any particular society, Mr. McKenna appears to have had the design carried out on the front door in green and white—colours common to most of the Suffrage Societies. Still, few will attempt to deny that it is highly probable that the militant women have had by far the largest share in bringing about this open confession of faith on the part of the Home Secretary!

SUFFRAGISTS CONFRONT SIR EDWARD GREY

Several of the papers announced, both on Monday evening and Tuesday morning, that Sir Edward Grey was confronted last Sunday, on stepping into his car outside Embleton Church, Northumberland, by three Suffragists, who put several pertinent questions to him concerning the present situation of the Votes for Women

movement, and held a conversation of some minutes' duration with him.

The Real Story

We have received the following account of what took place:

"Art thou he that troubleth Israel?"

"It is not I, but thou and those with thee, that trouble Israel."

These words, in the lesson for the day, struck some women in the congregation in the Parish Church of Embleton, Northumberland, as having a very special application to the present political situation, and at the close of the service something happened that proved this afresh.

The women—chance visitors to the little grey Northumbrian coast village—on leaving the church, found themselves face to face with Sir Edward Grey. The opportunity was not one to be lost. They went to the gate outside, where his car was standing, and waited. At last he, too, came out of the churchyard. At once three of them confronted him. "Sir Edward Grey," said one of them, "we want a word with you. We want to ask how you dared betray the women's cause by allowing the Reform Bill to be drafted so as to exclude women?"

Quite taken aback, and evidently annoyed, Sir Edward first ordered the friends accompanying him rather peremptorily into the car, and then said, "I refuse to discuss the matter with you here—this is not the time or place."

"Where is the place?" was the quick reply. "When we go to your meetings, you know what happens."

The main point was then pressed by the Suffragists again, and Sir Edward said, "It is not the case that women are excluded. We shall make every effort to include them. I myself" (with emphasis) "have put down an amendment."

This was met with quiet scorn. "An amendment! What is the use of that? It will be merely unofficial," the women answered, one of them adding, "We all know it has no chance of passing."

"On the contrary," he protested. "You say that because you do not understand Parliamentary procedure. The amendment has an excellent chance, if only women refrain from violence," he continued, catching at the ever-ready excuse of cowardly Suffragists, and hastening to put the burden of his guilt on other shoulders, like Ahab of old accusing the prophet, who stood for the weak against the strong, of stirring up the rebellion he himself had caused.

"We challenge you to prove your assertion that the amendment can be carried." "And violence had nothing to do with the opposition of the Irish members," were two thrusts which he met by taking refuge in his car, where his friends formed an apparently interested audience. The chauffeur seemed in no haste to cut short the interview by a precipitate start, so the conversation continued thus:

Suffragette: "You know perfectly well that if Women's Suffrage had been made a Government measure, if the Government had staked their existence on it, it would go straight through in spite of everything."

Cabinet Minister: "It could not possibly be made a Government measure."

Suffragette: "Then, if that is so, you ought to have resigned, your conscience would be clear, and you would be free from the responsibility of causing the women you deplore."

This indictment he tried to meet by some further criticism of violence, understood to be a reflection on the consciences of the militants. The parting shot of the third Suffragette accordingly was a reminder that he was directly the initiator of militancy when he allowed women to be violently ejected from his meeting at Manchester, rather than answer their question. Throughout the conversation Sir Edward appeared ill at ease, and evidently found himself at a loss for a defence against the accusations of the women.

M. P.

We hear that two Suffragists have also encountered Mr. Lloyd George at Marienbad.

It is said that Ministers are still very uneasy about possible attacks of Suffragettes, and that those who are stopping with friends will not, out of mere consideration for their hostesses, reveal their addresses. Hostesses, therefore, who want it known that they are entertaining Ministers will have to do it themselves in some secret way—by sending a message, say, to the local paper. This Suffragette danger is getting on everybody's nerves, and the attempt of Ministers to spend their holidays incognito is not likely to aid matters. Several most respectable citizens have already had their feelings badly injured by suspicious landladies who refused to let them apartments until they definitely denied that they were Mr. Lloyd George.—*Bystander*.

Mr. McKenna, we understand, considers the hazards on the Dornoch golf course to be very unfair. He thinks, for instance, that a large bunker in front of the first tee would form a much better obstacle than a couple of fierce Suffragettes. When attempting to start a round recently, not only was he unable to clear this hazard, but when he retreated it followed him into the club-house.—*Evening News*.

MR. LANSBURY SPEAKS OUT

Mr. Lansbury writes to the Labour Leader as follows:

Sir—I hope members of the I.L.P. who are interested in the question of votes for women will take some steps to show their disgust and abhorrence at the brutal sentences passed upon the women Suffragists by Mr. Justice Madden in Dublin the other day. It is nearly time that those who are giving lip service to the cause of women should make their voices heard. People who object to militancy have taken a good deal of trouble to let the world know that they disapprove of such methods, but very little is being done to restore confidence amongst the militant women that those who object to militancy are really in earnest. Although these sentences have been passed because it is hoped they will have a deterrent effect, I think it is quite true to say that nothing will stop militancy, and nothing will make the women who are in dead earnest stop their fight except one thing, and that is to let them realise that there is a body of opinion ready to express itself in the country and in Parliament in favour of their cause.

They are not even sure of the Labour Party. Up to now there has been no really definite pledge given by the Labour Party in Parliament that in the last resort they will vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill unless it includes women. There have been many statements made on the platform, and many attempts made to prove that the Labour Party is pledged to do this, but I speak what I know when I say that the Parliamentary Labour Party—men who in this matter really count—have not up to the present decided the matter one way or the other. I believe that outside the House of Commons every Socialist and every Labour man really believes that it is the duty of the Party in Parliament to prevent the passage of the Manhood Suffrage Bill unless it is amended to include women, but what the women outside want to know—and what they are entitled to know—is, do the 41 men, or the majority of the 41 men, in the House of Commons really intend to carry this decision through?

Now, as to the sentences themselves. It is a strange commentary on things in general that such sentences should have been passed in Dublin, where a few days before men who destroyed a sanatorium were sentenced only to a few weeks' imprisonment, and beyond that, in Dublin, which was the scene of the Phoenix Park murders, in Dublin, which has been the headquarters of the revolutionary Nationalist movement—that movement which attacked a prison van in Manchester, which destroyed by gunpowder the walls of Clerkenwell Prison, and which brought the Liberal Party of England to their knees, not by soft words and honeyed phrases, but by militant action which risked life and property for the purpose of attaining its ends.

When one reads that the people in the court cheered the sentences, one realises how true it is that the bulk of people only think of liberty for themselves, and takes altogether a different view of things when others are fighting for the same thing that they themselves profess to hold dear, for surely it is truth to say that the Irish movement has been a movement amongst men and women who considered that they themselves were ruled out of the government of their country, and were ruled by laws made for them by other people, and is not that the position of the women?

There would be nothing to be said for such sentences for men except that men, after all, have got the vote and are able to influence things by their vote, but women, as has been said over and over again, are outlaws, have no part or lot with making laws, and, therefore, ought not to be expected to obey the law, just as Irishmen have always refused to respect law made for them by other people.

I have written all this because I feel more than ever that what is needed, so far as the "Woman" movement is concerned, is that confidence should be restored. Parliament has sold them because of the exigencies of Party Government. It doesn't do that a Liberal House of Commons should do something which the Prime Minister disapproves, and therefore men who have been pledged to vote on behalf of the women can now callously declare for a variety of reasons that they intend to vote the other way. But this must not be the case with the Labour and Socialist members, and it is up to the rank and file of the Socialist movement to make the women understand that they will compel their members in the House of Commons to play the game, and that even if it means another General Election we shall count it worth while to force that General Election rather than allow the present Parliament once again to betray what some of us believe the biggest movement for social salvation before the country at the present time.—Yours, &c.,

GEORGE LANSBURY.

A LIBERAL PAPER'S VIEW

The Liberal Press seems no longer able to deny the importance of the suffrage movement. In addition to the correspondence on militancy in the *Manchester Guardian*, which is alluded to in the "Outlook," an interesting article appears in the *Daily News* of August 21, by "P. W. W." He refers to the "most critical struggle of profound importance for the whole future of politics," which will take place in September and October

over the question of the inclusion of woman suffrage in the Reform Bill. After alluding to the activities of the other suffrage societies, "P. W. W." goes into the question of tactics, and says:

"In the case of the Women's Social and Political Union there is, indeed, a lull, due to the Recess, but it is believed, doubtless with excellent reason, that the old campaign will be resumed in a few weeks' time with all the unpleasant consequences of arrest and imprisonment."

The article concludes:

"Mrs. Pankhurst and her colleagues are credited with the view that their previous truce over the Conciliation Bill was a waste of time. One need not argue that proposition, because no such waste of time would be involved in this present suggestion. Of course, what has been proposed by Lord Haldane, Mr. Lyttelton, and their co-signatories is that 'violence' should be abandoned. But at the moment it would be an immense gain if, leaving abandonment on one side, there should be a suspension of militancy, determined, from week to week and from month to month, by circumstances.

The nation is fully aware of the fact that a number of women are ready at any time to undergo sufferings out of devotion to the cause of their enfranchisement, and that their methods of necessity bring them into acute conflict with the law. The nation also realises that the matter has now got to be decided one way or the other, and it is surely due to the nation that the whole case should be summed up afresh in all its bearings by the women who, whether militant or non-militant, have studied it most closely. Public opinion is neither so unreasonable nor so unimportant as, perhaps, some militants imagine.

"Women's suffrage is, doubtless, very unpalatable in many quarters, but it is none the less right within the zone of actual politics, and if militancy continues it will divert the issue from the end to the means, from the object to the method. People will argue not on the merits of the suffrage, but about hatchet-throwing and theatre-burning. Moreover, there will be the suspicion—and in politics suspicion plays an important part—that the object of militancy is not so much to get the suffrage as to break the Government."

PUTTING BACK THE CLOCK IN 1881

Mr. Asquith has lately received from a correspondent, Mr. Moreton Frewen, a letter in the course of which appears the following passage:

"A fortnight since a young lady of franchise proclivities was caught at the point of setting on fire a great country house. Is it possible that thirty years hence an English Prime Minister will write to this lady as 'one of the veterans' . . . a word of gratitude?" I have read and read your letter in to-day's *Times* to Mr. Dillon with sheer amazement. A word of gratitude to a veteran who has seen the cause of Irish Nationalism live through a good deal of political weather, fair and foul! This to Mr. Dillon; compliments from the Prime Minister to Mr. Dillon!"

Mr. Moreton Frewen then proceeds to quote for the refreshment of Mr. Asquith's memory the following words uttered by Mr. Dillon in the House of Commons in 1881:

"He most decidedly did advise the Irish people to supply themselves with arms, and he should explain his purpose in so doing. If he were an Irish farmer, and a body of men came to turn him out of his house and land, he should decidedly shoot as many of them as he could. . . . The Irish people had not the means of waging a civil war; he wished they had. Formerly, when they used the more effectual weapon, one or two landlords were marked, then shot, and that proved more beneficial than all your constitutional agitation."

Such were the utterances of Home Rulers in the days when Mr. Asquith's convictions on the Irish question were being settled. Yet their unmeasured violence did not alienate him from the Home Rule cause, nor does the memory of them divide him and his Nationalist allies now. It is another proof of the hollowness of the argument that militancy turns friends into foes.

KEEPING THE FLAG FLYING IN SOUTH AFRICA

A Liverpool member of the Women's Social and Political Union, who has been travelling in South Africa, writes in the course of a letter that she managed to bring the question of Votes for Women to the notice of Earl Grey when she met him in Pretoria. At the end of a concert over which he was presiding, she went up to him with a copy of *Votes for Women* and reminded him that while they were enjoying the beauties of Pretoria, women in England were suffering imprisonment for fighting for their liberty. He looked most surprised, and exclaimed—"What are you even here?" "We are all over the world," was her reply, and on his remarking that he was not there with a political object, she asked him to help the women when he returned to England. In taking leave of her at the end of the evening, Earl Grey promised not to forget the women; and the next day, when she met him out walking, and said "Votes for Women" to him as she passed by, he smiled and acknowledged the greeting. Truly, the sun does not set on the Suffragettes and their cause!

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

We publish on our front page this week a map which gives some idea of the extent of the Holiday Campaign, and shows where *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is being sold by W.S.P.U. members, and some of the ways in which it is being made known to a new circle of readers. We are much indebted to the clever artist who has kindly drawn the map for us.

It is interesting, in view of recent occurrences in Ireland, to find that the greatest success has greeted Miss Greer in her donkey-cart tour over there. "We are doing splendidly," she writes, "and leaving a lasting mark. Four of us went round the country in donkey-carts, fully decorated, and brought small boys with us, who cheered lustily the whole way, and in several villages we gave leaflets and spoke to the crowds standing round us, who were very anxious for information and gave hearty cheers on our departure, and told us to be sure and come back. We sold all our papers, and could have sold more. Yesterday we did the fair at Ballena, a town full of Home Rulers. People said we should certainly be mobbed there, but we got a very fine donkey-cart, and smothered it and the donkey with flags, posters, and leaflets. We filled the cart with little village boys, who said 'Votes for Women' far better than we could ourselves, and went through every street, and crowds surrounded the cart, asking for information; and it was a sight to see them devouring the leaflets. Not one single person was rude; they all wanted to shake hands and go on talking for ever. When we left we were cheered out of the town."

In Scotland, too, Dr. Alice Ker has been selling the paper far away up North. One lady, surprised to meet a Suffragette so far from civilisation, remarked: "I thought we had left you all in London." "You will find us at the North Pole, if you ever go there," was Dr. Ker's reply. Cycling tours, in spite of the unpropitious weather, have been most successful in extending the influence of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Miss Harding in Hampshire, though a little saddened by the fact that people were more ready to receive than to give, and preferred taking a free leaflet to paying a penny for a paper, found everyone most interested in the cause, and had very fair sales. Miss Dorothy Salmon and Miss Katharine Wilks send us a very interesting account of their tour in Kent, where, in addition to selling the paper, they have pasted the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* handbill on all available blank walls and fences.

"We started our tour from Sutton, Surrey, on Monday, August 5," they write, "our intention being to ride east through Kent. We had flags and ribbons of purple, white, and green with which to decorate our bicycles, but owing to the repeated showers we were unable to do so. We spent the first night at Westerham, where we sold four papers—it was too late to do more that evening, as each pur-

posed there wasn't no 'arm in it?' and took a copy on our reassuring her. The next day we rode through the neighbouring villages of Heathfield and Cade Street, where we sold the remainder of our papers. This time we met three or four keen Suffragists, whose sympathy was most encouraging after some severe snubs from those whose 'Not to-day, thank you,' made us feel real hawkers. Near the monument recording the death of Jack Cade we met a member of the N.U.W.S.S.—one of the old stagers, she called herself—who, while reprobating the latest 'outrages,' made generous acknowledgment of the motives underlying them, exclaiming, 'You dear girls, I love you all!' With the papers we distributed leaflets, and several shopkeepers promised to exhibit the handbill on their counters."

Miss Annie Williams sends us the following account of last week's experiences at Llandudno:—"Courteously, but firmly,

help. But we must see that these splendid results do not fizzle out, and so Sunderland members and sympathisers are called upon to come forth in their dozens and help. The more the merrier! This may be taken literally, for, judging by experience, one is never more thoroughly happy than when working for the Suffrage, never more filled with the joy of life, and never more sorry for those who are 'out of it.' So that the words of a great French poet come home to us with all the greater significance:—

"Ceux qui vivent, ce sont ceux qui luttent,
Les autres, je les plains. . . ."

Miss Millett, in the Isle of Wight, continues to sell papers from the top of her garden wall to the people on the coaches that stop in the road below. Great excitement prevails directly she appears with her papers and a green baize pocket at the end of her stick for pennies, and they buy them readily to the accompaniment of the eternal question, "Where is Christabel?" Mrs. Jacobs also finds people most enthused

starting forth from home for the month of September. If they, too, will take part in the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* Holiday Campaign, even for an hour or two a week, will they write to Mrs. Ayrton-Gould, giving her their holiday and permanent addresses, the date and place of their stay, and the approximate amount of time they are prepared to give? She will gladly put them in touch with others, or, if they prefer to be independent, will be ready with helpful suggestions. It is hoped that everyone who can help will do so. Nothing will confound the enemy more than the circulation of the truth in regard to the militant movement, and the circulation of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is the circulation of the truth.

LEGAL DEFENCE FUND

We print below a list of donations received up to August 17, towards the Fund for defraying the legal expenses incurred in the trial of Mrs. Leigh, Miss Gladys Evans, Mrs. Baines, and in the forthcoming trial of Miss Helen Craggs. Many of these sums have been ear-marked for particular prisoners, and will be allocated accordingly. We make a further and most urgent appeal for money for this Fund. Good as the immediate response has been, it will be readily seen that a much higher total must be reached if Miss Helen Craggs is to be adequately defended (a very important matter at this juncture of affairs), and if the legal costs of defence already incurred both by her and the Dublin Suffragists are to be fully met. An appeal is never made in vain to members of the W.S.P.U. Will all those generous enough to subscribe to the Fund kindly send their donations as soon as possible to Miss Goodlife (Hon. Treasurer, Legal Defence Fund), 62, High Street, Hampstead, N.W.?

List of Donations to August 17

	£ s. d.
Miss Sara Falcke	0 10 6
Miss Nellie Neave	2 0 0
Dr. and Mrs. McCombe	2 0 0
Miss S. Marsden	1 1 0
Mrs. Bamford	0 3 0
Miss C. Meakin	0 2 6
Mrs. Wilcock	0 4 0
Mr. and Miss Pam (Johannesburg)	2 0 0
Mrs. and Miss Pam (Herts)	1 0 0
Anonymous	20 0 0
Mrs. Brewster	1 0 0
Horace Burrell, Esq.	0 2 0
Miss E. M. S. Graham	10 0 0
Hampstead Friends	4 19 6
Miss Adair Roberts	0 2 0
S. F. Hepburn, Esq.	2 2 0
Miss Fergus	1 0 0
Miss Goodliffe	2 0 0
Mrs. Pollard	0 2 5
Mrs. Streatham	0 2 5
Miss Vibert	1 2 6
Miss Grady	0 2 6
H. F. Hepburn, Esq.	1 0 0
J. P. Dickson, Esq.	1 1 0
Miss Joachim	1 0 0
Miss I. Green	0 2 6
Miss Mordan	5 0 0
Miss Ulisse and Miss A. G. Reed	0 2 6
Miss Millett	1 1 0
Mrs. Allan	0 2 6
Miss M. Levy	0 5 0
Miss J. Allan	5 0 0
Major W. J. Lister—"To be used in defence of the brave women under trial for their acts against injustice and tyranny"	1 1 0
Miss F. Candlin	0 3 5
A few Edinburgh Members	0 10 0
Miss J. C. Methven (Edinburgh)	1 0 0
A Friend (per Mrs. Mansel)	1 0 0
Miss Gray Allen	1 0 0
Miss Lal Forsyth and Miss Fletcher	0 10 0
Mrs. A. L. M. Coope	0 5 0
Mrs. Bowker	0 2 6
Miss Dorothy Bowker	5 10 0
The Misses Durham and Joachim	0 2 6
Mrs. Tucker	1 0 0
Madame Ada M. J. Sales (for our brave defenders)	0 0 0
Miss Phyllis Forsyth	0 5 0
"In memory of Nurse Pitfield instead of flowers"	0 10 0
	£79 15 6

Fresh holiday-makers will no doubt be



A W.S.P.U. Stall in Cambridge.

Miss Lettice Floyd was informed by an official that no selling of any kind whatsoever was permitted on the promenade or sands at Llandudno, but I, not having met him, felt at liberty to try again, and had a delightful quarter of an hour with an Anti-mother, two Anti-daughters, and an Anti-friend. They took a copy of *VOTES*, and promised to read it. An elderly lady enjoyed her own sad and solemn picture of the decay of womanly ideals, as she remembered them, and said the Suffrage movement was making women hard and selfish. Another lamented their too exquisite sensitiveness and sympathy, 'because, you know, it would make their hand shaky in a difficult surgical operation.' These conflicting views prevented both from taking a paper. It was a great pleasure to see this week's *VOTES* poster displayed in a conspicuous place in front of Smith's bookshop, and to learn that a lady had arranged for the posters to be shown for two months. I was informed that several copies of the paper had been ordered. An opportune donation for the purpose has enabled me to send copies to all the principal hotels and boarding houses, where the bad weather should certainly ensure their being read and discussed."

Miss Rickard, who is carrying on a first-rate holiday campaign in Sunderland, appeals for more paper-sellers, who should send their names to her at 16, Broughton Street. "In Sunderland, as elsewhere, there is plenty to be done," she writes, "and it is, moreover, received with acclamation. Truly, *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is wanted everywhere! So much so that those who just now are not 'pleasure-bound' and who are indulging in campaigning as one side of their summer programme, find there is not nearly enough time to spare for all that is waiting to be done in Sunderland. After the two pageants which have but lately taken place here, the soil is fresh for the suffrage seed which is only waiting for many workers to ensure its sturdy growth when the autumn takes us back to London. So will all who are within call lend a helping hand, so that when the Leaders come back Sunderland, too, shall have its batch of new converts and its band of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* readers and sellers? Already *VOTES FOR WOMEN* is sold every Saturday afternoon in the High Street, and commands an ever-increasing sale, accompanied by much good-humoured surprise at the sight of the suffragette got up with regalia and selling-bag, and holding the holiday poster in front. But we need half-a-dozen sellers at least on Saturday, so large are the crowds and so readily have they welcomed this innovation. In addition to this, Saturday evening meetings have been arranged, both for propaganda work and for the sale of the paper. These have proved an immense success in the way of huge crowds, keen appreciation, friendly questions, and immediate sale of the paper. Special thanks are due to Newcastle members who, in spite of its being holiday time, have so willingly come to speak at these meetings, and to Sunderland members for their co-operation and

sistic in Norfolk, where her two little girls, dressed in the colours, have been lately turning themselves into paper-sellers. From Torquay Miss G. Allen, the W.S.P.U. organiser, reports that the papers are selling splendidly, especially at Paignton, Brixham, and other places where meetings have been held, which have been advertised by the kindness of the manager at the Electric Theatre, Torquay—a plan worth copying elsewhere. One of the Babbacombe members is giving a tea on Oddicombe Beach on Saturday, the 24th, when a band will play the "March of the Women," and a large sale of papers is expected. (Tea tickets, price 6d., to be obtained of Miss Allen, Waverley, St. Margaret's Road, Saint Mary Church.)

In conclusion, we recall to the minds of our gallant campaigners, who are not deterred in their efforts even by this summer's bad weather, that it is important to make the Holiday Campaign permanent by securing regular subscribers to the paper wherever they go, and regular people to go on selling it after their own departure; by prevailing on local newsagents to stock the paper regularly and display the weekly newsbill, and by getting the picture-poster put up in shop and cottage windows. We remind them also that a special banner in the colours, to advertise the paper, is on sale, price 1s. 3d. for the first one, and 1s. for others ordered at the same time (a few stencilled by hand at 1s. 6d.); also the new picture-poster, price 3d. each for one, or 2d. each for others ordered at the same time. These can be obtained from Mrs. Ayrton-Gould (W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C.), who will be glad to supply handbills free, and to lend decorations in the colours for carts, bicycles, &c.

Fresh holiday-makers will no doubt be



Selling in Sunderland.

chaser involved us in arguments of some length, though they were, on the whole, sympathetic. We noticed that where a woman was in authority, as at our Cyclists' Rest, she was already converted; but at the bakery, where we encountered a man, side-issues of political opinions stood in the way. Stress of weather next day made us give up our first plan, and ride south to Mayfield, which was our ultimate goal. In this village we disposed of half our papers, and asked the local newsagent, who readily consented, to exhibit the weekly poster. We had a disappointment in the assistant curate, who said he would not take a paper, as he knew all about those 'bad women'—he was a Welshman. Immediately afterwards a gentleman in a dogcart bought a copy with alacrity, and waved it triumphantly over the clergyman's head. One woman 'sup-

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FIVE YEARS' PENAL SERVITUDE

Some Comments and Opinions

The following letter by Mr. Laurence Housman appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of August 17:

Sir,—We have before us in this country to-day three great unsettled problems in regard to which persistent political agitation is accompanied by law-breaking and violence. These are Irish Home Rule, the relations of labour to capital, and Women's Suffrage.

In each case the law-breaking and violence are the outcome of an effort to secure better social or political conditions. In each case the law-breakers have the sympathy, if not the co-operation and connivance, of a large number of their fellow-citizens, and their acts, if not the outcome of actual conspiracy, are the expression of social unrest, and are to that extent representative.

In the case of disturbances arising out of the Home Rule controversy and out of labour disputes, acts of incendiarism have taken place and grievous personal injuries have been inflicted on innocent people. Some of the men responsible for these acts have been tried and condemned, but in no case have they received sentences comparable to that of five years' penal servitude passed on two Suffragists whose acts of personal violence and incendiarism were in result more symbolical than material, for in neither case was the damage they effected comparable to that done by some of the rioters and "peaceful picketers" of the Home Rule and Labour agitations. Why, then, are the women Suffragists singled out for this exceptional severity of treatment?

The Judge who gave sentence in Dublin has himself stated the reason. It is not for the actual criminality of their acts that these women are so sentenced. He even went out of his way to pity their misguided zeal and to express an earnest hope that the sentences would be remitted by "the proper authority" if others would abandon their militancy.

When, under our present Liberal Government, has any judge so dealt with the lawless side of the Home Rule or Labour agitation, with cattle-drivers, with Belfast rioters, with strikers who attacked "free labour"? Yet these also had their imitators and associates, and were merely expressing in their individual acts a spirit of rebellion which had permeated a whole section of the community. But though the conditions are so far similar, has there in this connection been any sentence approximate to this of five years' penal servitude accompanied by the suggestion that if other agitators would behave themselves the heavy sentence would be remitted by the proper authority?

And, finally, what is this "proper authority" to which in the case of the women Suffragists the judge leaves the possible remission of their heavy sentences? It is that Government itself against which every act of militancy brings a direct charge of injustice and of unconstitutional delay. "Cease," he says to the women, "cease to accuse the Government, to assert by your acts of rebellion that you are being governed unrepresentatively and against your consent—withdraw from these demonstrations of revolt, and then 'the proper authority' may condescend to show mercy and to commute the sentences, so as to make the punishment a little more proportionate to the crime."

That is the judicial attitude towards the militant Suffragists. It is not the judicial attitude towards either of the other great agitations which I have mentioned. Why should this distinction be made?—Yours, &c.,

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

MISS GLADYS EVANS

At a meeting of the North-Western District Branch of the National Union of Shop Assistants the following resolution was put and carried, and has already been sent to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and to the local Member:

This branch of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousesmen, and Clerks calls upon the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to reconsider the sentence of five years' penal servitude passed upon Gladys Evans on August 7, on the grounds that it is her first offence, and was committed not with criminal intention, but from a political motive; and also to order her immediate transference to the First Division as a political offender.

It will be remembered that Miss Gladys Evans is a shop-assistant, having been for some time at Selfridge's, so this action on the part of the men and women of her own profession is a welcome sign of comradeship.

Miss Kelly, B.A., Captain of the Charing Cross pitch, writes as follows:—"May I add that possibly no one in the Union had such close dealings with Miss Gladys Evans as those of us who have been selling papers at Charing Cross for the last two or three years? The pitch there was started on October 1, 1909, and a few days later we were fortunate enough to get Miss Evans as a regular paper-seller on every Saturday afternoon—an act of considerable self-sacrifice on her part, seeing that that was her one half-holiday

which she had in each week. She is a girl who does whatever she undertakes to do with great thoroughness, reliability, and courage, and is alert both in mind and body. Her attractive personality and charm of manner made her one of the very best sellers we ever had, and when she left our pitch to take up work at the Crystal Palace kiosk, the loss to us was



A Snapshot of Miss Evans

simply irreparable. Knowing and admiring Miss Evans as I do, it seems incredible that she, and our brave Mrs. Leigh, should now be undergoing the vindictive sentence of five years' penal servitude."

MRS. LEIGH AS DRUM MAJOR

Mrs. Nourse writes to recall to us the services given to the W.S.P.U. Drum and Fife Band both by Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans. We are very glad to be reminded of them both in this connection; especially will our readers remember the gallant figure made by Mrs. Leigh as Drum-Major, marching at the head of the W.S.P.U. Drum and Fife Band every time that it paraded the streets. In our biographical notice of her last week, we alluded to her as "a daughter of the regiment." Certainly she looked this, every inch of her, when she led the band.

Mrs. Nourse continues:—"Old members of the Marylebone W.S.P.U. may recall Miss Evans as a member of the very successful Speakers' Class then held by the kind permission of Mrs. Morris, at 147, Harley Street. . . . It was Miss Theodora Davis, as far as I can remember, who first instructed Miss Gladys Evans in the art of speaking in public. Knowledge and practice so gained was of great assistance to her, and she became a popular chairman at many of our street corner meetings."

RESOLUTIONS

The Executive Committee of the Manchester branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, passed the following resolution recently:—"While expressing no opinion as to 'militancy' in general, the Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Manchester branch, desires to enter a strong protest against the unduly severe sentences passed on the women Suffragists convicted in Dublin in connection with the recent visit of the Prime Minister to that city. It urges the authorities to treat the women as political offenders and place them in the first division. Further, it desires to represent to the Government that vindictive methods of repression are likely to fail in their object, being calculated to add fuel to the fire, and that the statesmanlike and only satisfactory course to take is to remove the cause of the unrest by admitting women to the Parliamentary franchise."

The following resolution has been passed by the Govan Central Branch of the Independent Labour Party:—

That we, the members of the Govan Central Branch of the I.L.P., emphatically protest against the severe sentence passed on the two Suffragists, Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, in the Dublin Law Courts, and we call upon the Labour members of Parliament to do their utmost, even though the House is not sitting, to overthrow this gross and inhuman sentence.

The following resolution has been passed by the Kilburn Branch of the Shop Assistants Union:—"That this meeting condemns the action of the Government in introducing a Reform Bill to further extend the Franchise to all adult men (who have not even troubled to ask for it) while ignoring the just claims of women who have agitated, fought, and suffered

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for the Vote. We further call upon the Government to insert a clause in the Bill, giving votes to all women on the same terms as to men."

MRS. PANKHURST'S MESSAGE

It was not to be supposed that the verdict and sentence in the case of the Suffragists charged with offences on the occasion of Mr. Asquith's visit to Dublin would be passed over in silence by Mrs. Pankhurst. Nor would anyone cognisant with the spirit of this leader, and aware of the determination of the women who support her, expect that the very severe sentences imposed by Mr. Justice Madden would produce on the part of leaders of the cause in this country anything but a resolute attitude of hostility. However much one must differ from the tactics pursued by the militant Suffragists, it is impossible to be blind to the courage they impart to their work. Nothing daunts them, and it is unfortunate for their movement that they should be unable to invest their policy with wisdom and discretion, as well as pluck and pertinacity, for without the qualities first named it is evident to the impartial observer that any progress made will not be lasting. Mrs. Pankhurst, however, has no fears on this score, and, being at the head of the movement, her views, though not approved, are entitled to respect.—*Newcastle Daily Journal*.

The just point of view is that they are neither heroines nor viragos, but merely those rather rare birds, people who have the courage of their expressed political convictions. . . . It is, literally, for many women, a matter of life and death—certainly intellectual and moral, and conceivably physical life and death—and it is not to be wondered at if, in desperation, a final assault is made on the stronghold of the Physical Strength Garrison with their own weapons—at the direct invitation, it must not be forgotten, of a responsible member of the Cabinet.—*The Clarion*.

A SUFFRAGIST WEDDING

Heartiest good wishes to Mr. and Mrs. Williamson-Forrester, who were married in Manchester on August 16. Before her marriage Mrs. Forrester was Miss Lilian Williamson, hon. secretary of the local W.S.P.U. Miss Williamson was one of its earliest members, having joined on its formation over seven years ago. She has rendered great service to the cause, especially on the platform, where she is an eloquent speaker. Mr. Forrester is a member of the M.P.U. They carry with them the good wishes of all our readers.

CANADA'S PRIME MINISTER

Miss Rachel Barrett has written to Mr. Borden, the Prime Minister of Canada, who is now on a visit to this country, asking him to receive a deputation of English and Canadian Suffragists, who would like to lay before him their views on Woman Suffrage, and to ascertain his opinion. She points out that the Woman Suffrage question has become one of increasing importance in this country and in those Colonies where the question is not already settled, and that appeals are often made to the Mother Country to help the women there in their struggle for this reform. Mr. Borden's reply has not yet been received.

The following passage occurs in a letter to the *Morning Post* signed "A Canadian Born and Bred":—"Believe me, there is no room in Canada for 'nurses, schoolmistresses, lady residents, &c.,' who leave their own land because they can find there no work to do. The kind of women Canada needs are the women who at present in England are enduring imprisonment and obloquy for the sake of womanhood all over the world."

WILL THE WOMAN'S VOTE DISTURB THE HARMONY OF THE HOME?

An extraordinary instance of the magisterial point of view occurred last week at the Marylebone Police Court, where, according to accounts in the Press, a woman was refused a separation order, though it was stated that her husband had in the course of a few months committed the following outrages upon her:—

Tried to throw her out of a window.
Pushed and dragged her across a room.
Threw a plate of hot food over her.
Dragged her from an area by her hair.
Bit her nose under the pretence of kissing her.

Thrown an alarm clock at her.
Dragged her downstairs.
Threw her to the floor and continued the attack all night with the door locked.

Threw a cup of cocoa and a chair at her.
Kicked her out of bed and dragged her back, and finally threw at her a saucepan containing boiling water and three eggs.

In dismissing the summons the magistrate, Mr. Denman, said: "This is merely the case of a private family squabble. I am of opinion Mrs. Barber is quite capable of taking care of herself."

It is to be hoped that she is, for evidently the law has no intention of helping to protect her. But after this we may finally dismiss two at least of the Anti-Suffrage objections to the woman's vote: (1) That woman is already the spoilt child of the law; (2) that when she has a vote it will cause dissension in the home!

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For use with all fine fabrics such as Laces, Blouses, Silks, &c., or with Flannels & Woollens usually liable to shrinkage.

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CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

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CHESHIRE AND KENTAL POWE.

Members are reminded that shop is open Tuesdays and Fridays, 11 to 1, during August. So far it has been well supported. A handsome wreath was sent on behalf of this Union to Nurse Pittfield's funeral, and several members attended the cemetery service. Contributions to the wreath were welcomed by Miss May, 4, Clement's Inn. A chest of drawers much needed for shop.—(Hon. Sec., *pro tem.*, Mrs. Temple Bird. Office—36, King's Road, S.W.)

LINCOLN.

Meetings Tuesday and Wednesday addressed by Miss Harvey. Papers sold out. Large crowds gathered to hear Miss Feek on Saturday. Members' attention is specially called to correspondents in *Lord Recorder*. Aug. subscriptions now due.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel C. Haslam, 46, Cranbrook Road.)

KINGSTON AND DISTRICT.

Members who can supply fruit of any kind for Dutch Market Stall asked to write Organiser at once. Smallest quantity welcome. Also articles for Fancy Stall and White Elephant Stall. Time getting on, and members are specially appealed to to come forward immediately. Musical members and gramophone required. Please note meeting at Scotch Cafe, Sept. 6. Dr. Letitia Fairfield speaker. Paper-sellers urgently wanted. Mrs. Burton can supply dainty material for making fancy articles, sachets, &c., if members will offer help in this way. Shop will re-open Sept. 1. Will members look in to see new stock? Organiser going away Sept. 14. Will members communicate with her before this date re Dutch Market? Gratefully acknowledged.—Mrs. Bassell, 1a, Mrs. Burton, 4a.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bassell-Fox. Office—13, Union Street.)

WILMINGTON.

Meetings on Common will be continued throughout August at 6 p.m. There will be no meetings Sept. 1 and 8, after which date they will be held at 3 p.m. Will members make every effort to attend and volunteer as sellers? Last Sunday crowds gathered to hear Miss Haslam and Miss Kelly. Papers sold well. Members can have paper forwarded to holiday addresses, also Veda Bread, if desired. Shop will be open full time throughout holidays, Saturdays till 9.30. Will members who can help with stewarding during next fortnight send names to Miss Wheeler at shop? Saturday help badly wanted. Special stationery sale deserves visit. Will members apply to Miss Lee without delay for Albert Hall tickets, and not rely on usual seats being retained for them? Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., can still be had. Jumble Sale will take place early autumn. Men's and children's things specially needed. Send parcels, marked "Jumble," to Dorset Hall for storage. Hall meetings commence Thursday, Oct. 24 (not on 23rd, as previously announced). Further particulars later. An excellent programme is in preparation. It is hoped members will make meetings widely known. Will all who are in arrears with monthly subscriptions pay in to shop, or to Miss Nutall? More monthly subscribers, of however small an amount, will be welcome before end of year. A special collection box for weekly subscriptions or donations will be on shop counter till Hall meetings commence. See *Surrey Comet* and *Boro News* for accounts of local meetings.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates. Shop—9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway.)

WIMBLEDON PARK AND E. WIM-

During Mrs. Dickinson's absence, Miss Grant, 43, Belvedere Cottages, has kindly agreed to act as hon. treasurer. Members please note that it is intended to hold a jumble sale early in the autumn. Contributions can for the present be forwarded to the hon. sec. Note that the Count Train as used in "210 Look" can be hired, 2s. 6d. each performance, and carriage both ways.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. E. Scarborough, 3, Marguerite Villas, Copse Hill, Wimbledon.)

Home Counties.

MIDLTON-ON-SEA.

Paper sold well during last two weeks. Additional help in street selling would be of great assistance. Visitors very welcome at shop. Hours, 11-1 a.m., 3-6 p.m. Saturdays 11-1 p.m. There is now a good number of books in lending library.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen. Shop—1, North Church Road.)

BRIGHTON, HOVE, AND DISTRICT.

Mrs. Bouvier has kindly given her holiday to help on local work. At Miss G. Richard's meetings eight dozen papers sold. Many thanks to those who have come forward for paper selling. More sellers urgently needed for mornings. The petition on behalf of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is now at office for signature.—(Org.—Miss G. Allen. Office—8, North Street, Quadrant.)

BOURNEMOUTH.

Votes for WOMEN selling splendidly. Sellers wanted Friday and Saturday mornings at pier head.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss B. Berry, 221, Old Christchurch Road.)

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Visitors to Folkestone willing to help during their holiday are requested to communicate with Miss Helen Nicholl, Avenue Mansion, West Leas, Folkestone, who has kindly undertaken to give information and sell literature during Organiser's absence. Holiday-making members asked to keep in mind Christmas. Basement Stall Canterbury friends begged to make known Mr. Pittfield Lawrence's coming meeting at Foresters' Hall, Oct. 23.—(Org.—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Textrava, 30, Bouvrye Road West, Folkestone.)

HARROGATE.

Splendid meeting beach Wednesday evening. Miss Haslam presided. Mrs. Bouvier speaker. Paper selling up to the mark, though weather could not have been worse. Gratefully acknowledged.—The Misses Reid, £2.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 10, Southfields Road.)

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.

Out-door meeting Tuesday evening great success. Mrs. Bouvier listened to most attentively. At conclusion a workingman asked leave to speak, and described very forcibly good results of women's vote in New Zealand, where he had lived. Large sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN continues, one member alone having sold between seven and eight dozen in two weeks. Gratefully acknowledged.—Miss E. Bowerman, 15s.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 8, Claremont.)

WORCESTER.

Mrs. Bouvier, in spite of heavy showers, kept an attentive audience listening to her eloquent speech for two hours. Mrs. Hughes presided.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Tarrant, 11, Liverpool Terrace.)

West of England.

BRIXTON.

Splendid outdoor campaign this week in North, South, East, and West Bristol. Speaker, Miss Myers. Wanted: more paper-sellers. Who will volunteer? Gratefully acknowledged.—Mrs. Sisson, 1a; Mrs. Balk, 21, 2s. 6d.; Miss Paul, 21.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dove Willcox. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.)

Eastern Counties.

CAMBRIDGE.

The campaign has during Extension Lectures closed with series of open-air meetings addressed by Miss Kathleen Jarvis. Chair kindly taken by Miss Bell, Market Stall. Saturdays and Wednesdays, very successful. A great number of papers sold during last week, over 100 being sold Friday. Many thanks to Miss Bell, Miss Bullock, and Miss Pryor. The latter has kindly consented to keep a pitch going on Friday and Saturday evenings by Post Office.

PHILIPSTOWE.

A record number VOTES FOR WOMEN sold last week (over 100), thanks to members who so willingly sold in town. Open-air meetings very successful. Will all interested help to make next week known to their friends?—(Org.—Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Löwy, Woodcroft, Bath Road.)

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Members will be glad to hear that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak, Public Hall, Tuesday, October 29. Please note date. Miss Kathleen Jarvis addressed a good meeting, Cornhill, Tuesday, Aug. 13. Tickets for Ipswich boxes, Albert Hall meeting, can now be had, price 3s. each.—(Org.—Miss Grace Roe. Shop Sec.—Miss King. Shop—Dial Lane, Ipswich.)

North-Eastern Counties.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

The secretary will be in Leeds until Aug. 26. Will all members please make special effort to attend to-morrow (Saturday's) meeting at office, at 3.30 p.m., to discuss advisability of taking a stand at forthcoming Industrial Exhibition? Will members who cannot attend kindly let sec. know their opinion before meeting, and in the event of resolution for holding a stand being carried, how much they would subscribe to the £25 rent which must be paid in advance?—(Hon. Sec.—Miss C. Palmer, Mill Farm, Fylingdales, Robin Hood Bay.)

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Well attended meeting held Thursday, Aug. 15, at the colliery village of Ambleton. Speakers invited to go again shortly, when a hall will be provided for a meeting. Jarrow, Hartley, and Blackworth will be visited next week by Miss Balls, Miss Eden, Mrs. and Miss Atkinson, and Mrs. Crower.—(Org.—Miss Laura Ainsworth. Office—77, Blackett Street.)

SCARBOROUGH.

Good meetings held this week. On Monday Miss Sharman presided, and Miss C. Wilcox spoke. Miss Sharman and Miss Miller-Wilson held meeting on Esplanade Saturday. There was a great demand for paper, and a good collection was taken. Many thanks to Misses Henwood for taking charge of

METINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

August.					
Friday, 23	... Bristol, Horse Fair	...			
" "	... Liverpool, Islington Square	...			
" "	... Manchester, Office	...			
" "	... Worthing, Beach Meeting opposite Steyne Gardens)	...			
Saturday, 24	... Birkenhead, Haymarket	...			
" "	... Brighton, Sea Front	...			
" "	... Bristol, St. George's Park	...			
" "	... Sunderland, Park Lane, Home-side...	...			
Sunday, 25	... Brighton, Sea Front	...			
Monday, 26	... Bristol, Midland Road	...			
Tuesday, 27	... Sheffield, Queen's Statue	...			
Wednesday, 28	... Bristol, St. George's Park	...			
Saturday, 31	... Felixstowe, opposite the Rosebery			
	... Bristol, London Inn, Bedminster....	...			

Miss Elsa Myers	6 p.m.
Miss Woolcock	8 p.m.
Members' Meeting	8 p.m.
Mrs. Israel Zangwill	5.30 p.m.
Miss Woodlock	8 p.m.
Miss Rogers	5.30 p.m.
Miss J. Smith	7.30 p.m.
Miss P. Rickard, Chair: Miss Rainbow	8 p.m.
Miss Rogers	11.30 a.m.
Miss J. Smith	7.30 p.m.
Miss A. Suffield, Chair: Miss E. Irons, R.A.	8 p.m.
Miss J. Smith	7.30 p.m.
Miss J. Smith	8 p.m.
Miss J. Smith	7.30 p.m.
Miss J. Smith	8 p.m.
Miss J. Smith	7.30 p.m.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK

August.					
Saturday, 24	... Ilford, Bolton Road	...			
" "	... Lowestoft, 9a, Losampl Vale	...			
" "	... Wandsworth (near Prison)	...			
Sunday, 25	... Regent's Park	...			
" "	... Wimborne Common	...			
Monday, 26	... East Ham, Kempton Road	...			
" "	... Wandsworth (near Prison)	...			
Wednesday, 28	... Ilford, The Rabbits, Manor Park	...			
Thursday, 29	... Wandsworth (near Prison)	...			

Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17, 8 p.m.

AUSTRALIAN AND N.Z. WOMEN VOTERS ASSOCIATION (LONDON)

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association (London) attracted a large crowd in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, when Miss Margaret Hodge and Mrs. Merivale Mayers spoke. A resolution respectfully requesting the Treasury to make Woman Suffrage a Government measure, in the interests of the Empire, was carried by a very large majority.

BEDFORD AND DISTRICT.

Members please attend Tuesday's meeting to sell

MEMBERSHIP.

Members please attend Tuesday's meeting to sell</p

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

MARRIAGES.

AUGUST 16.—Marriage of Lillian Williamson, of the Manchester W.S.P.U., to Stephen Forrester.

ON the 19th inst., before the Registrar, Clapham Junction, Clarence Ferdinand Sennet and Ethel Marie Crawley.—Brombury, Sask., Canada.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

[Property found at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.]

FOUND at Albert Hall Meeting, June 15.—Umbrella, small folding fan, and gold safety pin.—Apply Miss Kerr, &c.

GIVEN TO BE SOLD FOR THE FUNDS: £ s. d.
Real Indian table-cloth, 38in by 38in, embroidered in Union's colours on white linen 1 5 0
Ditto, 40in by 40in, embroidered on white lawn 0 15 0
Ditto, 37in by 38in, embroidered on white calico 0 8 0
Handsome silk tea or dinner jacket (genuine Chinese) 2 2 0
Gold and coral brooch 1 0 0
Gold and turquoise scarf-pin 0 10 0
Gold locket 1 10 0
Antique hand-painted miniature (in oval gold frame) 2 2 0
Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ASOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Convenience, no extra. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension, 9s.; finest English provisions; terrace, garden, lounge. Apartments, 478 Gerrard,

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BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 5s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4338 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms from 27s. 6d.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—Board-Residence. "Roxwood," Castle Hill Avenue; pleasantly situated; best part; close to Leas; moderate terms.—Proprietress.

FOLKESTONE.—Trevarra, Bouvierie Road West. Board-residence. Excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre. Separate tables. From two guineas.—Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

HOTEL RUSSELL, Stephen's Green, Dublin.—High class; central; moderate terms for Tourists.—Write Manageress.

HOVE.—Board-Residence required by Lady, with ladies, near Town Hall; twenty-five shillings.—B. B. Walser, Church Road, Hove.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 18s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 22s. Gentlemen from 18s. 6d.

MARGATE.—Food Reform; Board-Residence, liberal diet, excellent cooking; comfort first aim; high, bracing position. Mrs. Bailey, Cardele, 1, Windsor Avenue, Cliftonville, Margate.

ON Heights of Udimore (300ft) near Winchelsea. Restful holidays amidst beautiful country. Old farmhouse; indoor sanitation; good table; delightful gardens; terms moderate. Ridley, Parsonage Place, Udimore, Rye.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies. Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SKEGNESS.—Vegetarian; Board-Residence; situated amidst fields, ten minutes from sea and links; good cooking and liberal catering by earnest vegetarian; Suffragettes warmly welcomed.—Leonora Cohen, "Gorichen," Windthorpe, Skegness.

SUFFRAGETTES, spend your Holidays at BRIGHTON.—Every comfort (including sea-bathing at reduced rates) at—Miss Turner's, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria Road. Nat. Tel.—1702. Terms moderate.

TO LET AND SOLD.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet. House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 33, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

ESHER.—Girtonian wishes to let three Unfurnished Rooms to gentlepeople, end September; new house; beautiful surroundings; gas, bath; near Heath; 8m. from a station.—Box 115, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

FELIXSTOWE.—Rooms recommended by Member of W.S.P.U. One Sitting-room, 2 Bedrooms; terms moderate. Personal reference in London if desired.—32, Constable Road.

FRANCE, PAU.—(Prés.) "Château de Lescar." Park, gardens, stabling, 10 rooms, dressing, bath, 2 w.c.s., cellar. Superb views snowy Pyrenees. £1,700. Plan. Photo. "English Proprietor."

FURNISHED FLAT to Let immediately.—Two bedrooms, kitchen, sitting-room, bath-room; all modern conveniences; few minutes from Baker Street.—Apply Caretaker, Walden House, 34, High Street, Marylebone.

ISLE OF MAN, RAMSEY.—House to Let with all modern conveniences, situated about four miles from Ramsey; near electric car.—Apply Shepherd, "Cornucopia," Ramsey.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures, Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

ROOMS, Furnished or Unfurnished; quiet neighbourhood.—12, Cowley Street, Dean's Yard, S.W.

SOUTH KENSINGTON.—To Let, October 1, in lady's house (three minutes to Gloucester Road Station), bed sitting room and dressing-room, with use of bath and attendance; board and use of telephone as desired.—U. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

SYDENHAM HILL (London).—Only Freehold Mansion purchasable. Fine views; 3½ acres, 22 rooms (billiards), stabling; fine conservatory; hothouse.—Mme. Sales, Lescar, Basses Pyrénées, France.

TO LET.—Pretty Detached House; lounge hall, six bedrooms, two reception, kitchen and offices; garden, tennis courts close by; train, tram, and bus within five minutes' walk.—Apply 10, Cole Park Road, Twickenham.

VICTORIA STREET.—£65. Snug little flat; sitting-room, bed, kitchen, bath; electric light; lift; suit two ladies; furniture to be sold cheaply.—Box 120, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

WANTED.

MEMBER will exchange for six months pretty furnished House in Cornwall, close to good seaside town (very mild climate and beautiful garden), for good flat in W.C. district.—Lorraine, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn

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A GOOD OPPORTUNITY.—Clever Masses will do well, and come in immediate contact with prominent people. Scrupulous, intelligible instruction is essential for successful practice. Better tuition in Swedish massage and exercises cannot be obtained than at Clapham Junction School of Massage, Beauchamp Road, S.W. Certificates granted. Moderate fees.

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LOVEGROVE'S DAIRY AND POULTRY FARMS.—Chiltern Hills; 100 acres; pupils received for dairy, poultry, or general farming. Prospectus on application to Manager, Checkendon, Reading.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.) Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalcet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

POULTRY FARM.—Vacancy for Students; variety of breeds stocked; utility and exhibition.—M. and F. Spong, The Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY for Girls wishing to learn gardening; thorough practical training. Next term begins September 10. Prospectus on application.—Glen Gardens, Canford Cliffs, Dorset.

THE LITTLE SALON SOCIAL LITERARY MEETINGS reassemble shortly. For Membership, write L. Salon, 24, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

THE HEALTH CENTRE, 122, Victoria Street, S.W.—Perfect health by natural means through vital electricity. Hours: 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.; 2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. Saturdays excepted. Physical Diagnosis by a qualified medical man, and Diagnosis by Mrs. Mary Davies. Enquiries relating to treatment answered free of charge. Enclose stamped envelope if written reply required. Lectures, Physical Culture, and Concentration Classes are held at "The Health Centre."

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking, to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

BUSINESS, Etc.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

LADY, qualified, wants engagements; good plain cook; would train maid or would take orders; home-made cakes; lists; prices forwarded.—Bullock, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

LADY (30), seeks Suffrage work (London); Secretary, help with house and sewing; hardworking, practical; live in or out; had previous posts; salary.—Miss Bolton, Yatton Keynell Rectory, Chippenham, Wilts.

JEWELLERY.

WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2336 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

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DRESSMAKER (Suffragette) with wide experience in cutting, fitting, and remodelling (best work only), visits ladies' residences. Highest testimonials. Terms, 7s. 6d. per day.—Apply Box 598, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

MAISON RÉMOND, Ladies' Tailors, 11, Polken Street, Hanover Square, W. Recommends his latest Paris styles in costumes from £3 up. Remodelling of old costumes for moderate charges. Send a card for his Paris models and patterns.

"PATRICIA," Court Dressmaker, has removed to 79, Church Street, Kensington. Gowns from 2½ guineas; first-class tailoring; materials taken; highest references.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Latest West End and Paris styles, from 3 guineas. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Neissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 357 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS.—Superfluous hair permanently destroyed. Obtain a good complexion by massage and electrical treatment. Face Massage, 3s. 6d.; courses of six, 18s. 6d. Electrical scalp and hair treatment.—Madame Pearson, 11, Baker Street (third floor), London, W.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skillfully performed; also expert lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s., 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

MISS KATHLEEN BOYLE, Expert in the removal of superfluous hair, warts, and moles; also skin specialist. Ladies attended at their own houses.—Address, Miss Kathleen Boyle, 145, Oxford Street, W.

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GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

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